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The Meaning of the Expression "Between the Two Walls"

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IN Jer. 52[5-8] we read: "So the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah. In the fourth month, in the ninth day of the month, the famine was sore in the city, so that there was no bread for the people of the land. Then a breach was made in the city, and all the men of war fled and went out of the city by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was above the king's garden (now the Chaldeans were against the city round about); and they went by the way of the Arabah. And the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king, and overtook Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho." In 2 Ki. 25[2-5] this passage is repeated with slight textual differences. Jer. 39[2-5] is another duplicate, which, however, contains several additional items: "In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, a breach was made in the city. And all the princes of the king of Babylon came in and sat in the middle gate, even Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, Rab-saris, Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag, with all the rest of the princes of the king of Babylon. And it came to pass that when Zedekiah the king of Judah and all the men of war saw them, then they fled

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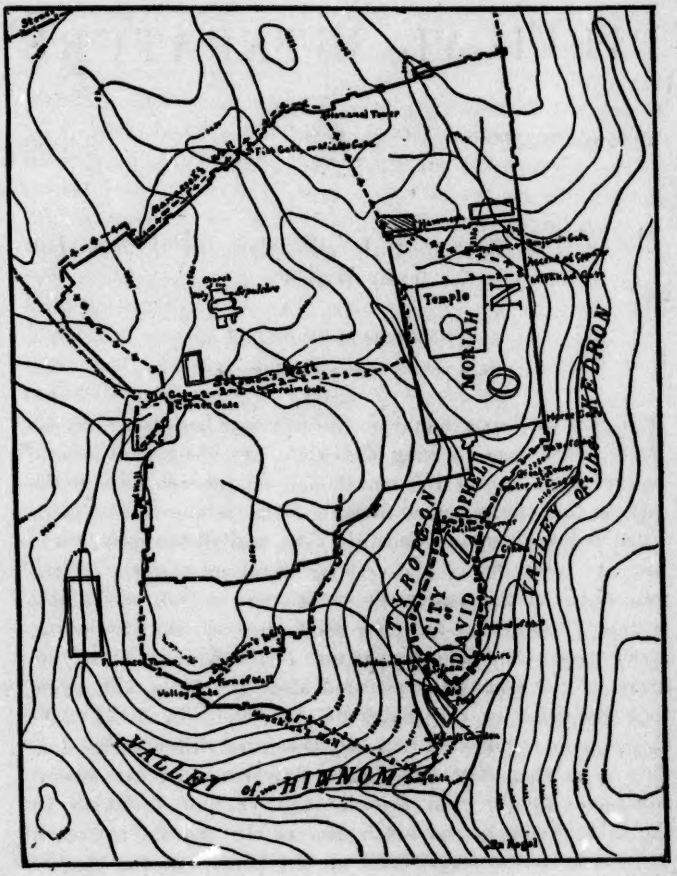
Temple
MORIAH
CITY of DAVID
TYROPOEON
VALLEY of HINNOM
VALLEY of KEDRON

and went forth out of the city by night by the way of the king's garden, by the gate between the two walls." The only other passage in the Old Testament where the expression "between the two walls" occurs is Is. 22^{9-11}: "Ye saw the breaches of the city of David that they were many, and ye collected the waters of the lower pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool."

The question, what these two walls were, is of such importance for the archæology of Jerusalem that it seems worth while to make it the object of a special investigation.

Nebuchadrezzar, like all the other besiegers of Jerusalem, must have made his attack from the north, since this was the only side on which the city was not protected by deep ravines. The Middle Gate, in which his officers sat after a breach was made in the wall, is not called by this name elsewhere in the Old Testament; and one might suspect textual corruption, but that the reading is confirmed by the LXX. The name implies that the gate lay in the middle of one of the sides of the city, and if this side was the north, then it must be identical with the Fish Gate. According to Neh. 3^{1-6}, the wall was repaired from the Sheep Gate, which was the northern entrance to the Temple (cf. Neh. 12^{39}) to the Tower of Hammeah, which stood on the site of the later Antonia; then to the Tower of Hananel, which was the northernmost angle of the city (cf. Jer. 31^{38}, Zech. 14^{10}); then to the Fish Gate; then to the Old Gate, which must be identified with the Corner Gate of the older histories at the northwest corner of the old city on the site of the modern Jaffa Gate (cf. Zech. 14^{10} where יָשָׁן, 'old,' should be read instead רִאשׁוֹן, 'first'). The same location in the middle of the north wall of the city is assigned to the Fish Gate by Neh. 12^{39}, which represents the second company of Levites as marching upon the north wall from the Old Gate to the Fish Gate, and then to the Tower of Hananel, the Tower of Hammeah, the Sheep Gate, and the Temple. The precise location of the Fish Gate depends upon the course of the

second wall on the north. I believe it to have been practically identical with that of the present north city wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate (see my article in this JOURNAL, vol. xxiv. 1905, pp. 196–211). In that case the Middle Gate, or Fish Gate, is to be identified with the modern Damascus Gate, and is still to be seen in the ancient stones that appear in the foundations of this gate. If other theories are correct, and the second wall lay inside of the present north wall, then the Middle Gate was situated a little farther south. In any case it lay in the valley El-Wâd, the Tyropœon of Josephus.

If the city was captured at this point, and Nebuchadrezzar's officers established their headquarters there, it is obvious that Zedekiah would seek to escape on the opposite side of the city, that is, by the gate at the southern end of the Tyropœon valley. This is expressly indicated by the statement of Jeremiah and Kings that he fled by the way of the Arabah. The shortest and easiest route from Jerusalem to the Arabah is down the Wâdy en-Nâr or Kidron valley. It took Zedekiah to the Plains of Jericho, and here he was overtaken and captured by the Chaldeans. It is clear, accordingly, that "the gate between the two walls" must be sought somewhere near the southern extremity of the city.

Its location is fixed more precisely by the statement of Jeremiah and Kings that it was עַל־גַּן הַמֶּלֶךְ, that is, "above," or "near the garden of the king." The King's Garden, according to Neh. 3[15], was adjacent to the Pool of Siloam and the Stairs of the City of David. The Pool of Siloam is one of the few localities of ancient Jerusalem whose position is undisputed. The narrative of the rebuilding of the wall in Neh. 3, where the several landmarks are mentioned in regular order, shows that it lay near the southern angle of the city. In Neh. 2[13-15] Nehemiah rides down the valley of Hinnom from the Valley Gate at the southwest corner (cf. 2 Chr. 26[9]) to the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate, which must have been near the fountain of Siloam, then to the King's Pool, which must be the same as the Pool of Siloam,

and then up the *Nahal*, or Kidron valley. This also shows that Siloam lay at the southern angle of the city. Josephus (*Wars*, v. 4^{1}) states that Siloam lay at the southern end of the Tyropœon valley, and describes it as a fountain with much sweet water. In *Wars*, v. 9^{4}, he describes it as a spring outside of the city. In *Wars*, v. 4^{2}, he names it as the southern point at which the wall bent around (cf. *Wars*, ii. 16^{2}, v. 12^{2}, v. 6^{1}, vi. 7^{2}, vi. 8^{5}). These passages all indicate that Siloam is identical with the modern 'Ain Silwân, whose name is the exact Arabic equivalent of the ancient Siloam.

The other landmark by which the King's Garden is located in Neh. 3^{15} is the Stairs of the City of David. After long controversy it is now coming to be generally recognized that the City of David lay on the southern end of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The evidence for this opinion in brief is as follows: (1) The stronghold of the Jebusites, which David renamed after himself, must have been near a water supply, and the Gihon, or Virgin's Fountain, on the slope of the southeast hill in the Kidron valley, is the only spring in the neighborhood of the city. (2) The tombs of the kings are repeatedly said to have been situated in the City of David, but according to Ezek. 43^{7} they have defiled the Temple by their proximity. (3) Is. $29^{1.2.7}$ identifies the City of David with the place where the feasts are celebrated, that is, with the Temple mount. (4) Nowhere is one said to go up *to* the City of David, but always to go up *from* it to the Temple or palace quarter (cf. 2 Sam. 6^{10}, 1 Ki. 3^{1}, 8^{1}, 9^{24}). This indicates that it lay south of the Temple, as all the other hills of Jerusalem are higher than the Temple. (5) In 2 Chr. 32^{30} we are told that Hezekiah stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David. This can only refer to the construction of the Siloam conduit which carries the water of the Virgin's Fountain under the southeast hill to Siloam. (6) In 2 Chr. 33^{14} it is stated that Manasseh built an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the Nahal. Gihon in the Nahal is

the Virgin's Fountain in the Wady Sitti Maryam, and the wall of the City of David west of Gihon can only be a wall on the eastern side of the southeastern hill. (7) In 1 Maccabees the City of David is identified with the Akra or stronghold of the Syrians, and is located on the same hill with the Temple (cf. 1 Macc. 1^{33}, $7^{32.33}$, 14^{36}). (8) Josephus equates the City of David with the Akra of the Syrians in *Ant.* vii. 3^{1-2} (cf. *Ant.* xii. 3^{3}, 6^{2}, 7^{6}, 9^{3-4}, 10^{4}, xiii. 1^{3}, 2^{3}, 4^{9}, 5^{3}, 5^{11}, 6^{6-7}). He also equates the Akra with the Lower City in *Wars*, i. 1^{4}, v. 4^{1}, 6^{1}. His statements in regard to the Lower City show that it lay on the eastern hill south of the Temple (cf. *Wars*, v. 4^{1}, *Ant.* xiv. 16^{2}, *Wars*, ii. 17^{5}, iv. 9^{12}, vi. 6^{3}, 7^{2}). It appears, accordingly, that there is an unbroken tradition in favor of the location of the City of David on the southeast hill from the earliest times down to Josephus. After the destruction of Jerusalem the City of David was supposed to have lain on the southwest hill, where to-day the Tomb of David is shown by the Moslems, but of this theory there is no trace before the fourth century A.D., and it is worthless over against the large body of ancient evidence in favor of the southeast hill. The Stairs of the City of David, near which the King's Garden lay, according to Neh. 3^{15}, must therefore be sought at the southern end of the southeastern hill where the rocky cliffs make an ordinary road impossible and necessitate steps to reach the summit. At this point a number of steps cut in the rock are still visible, and there is no reason to doubt that they are the original Stairs of the City of David.[1]

If, as we have just seen, Siloam is 'Ain Silwân, and the Stairs of the City of David lay at the southern end of the eastern hill, then the King's Garden, which was adjacent to these two landmarks, must be identified with the fertile tract watered from Siloam at the mouth of the Tyropœon, which now serves as the market-garden of Jerusalem. But

[1] For pictures of many of these localities from recent photographs, see the illustrations to Professor H. G. Mitchell's article, "The Wall of Jerusalem according to the Book of Nehemiah," in this JOURNAL, vol. xxii. 1903, pp. 85–163.

according to Jer. 52[7], 39[4], 2 Ki. 25[4], the gate between the two walls lay above the King's Garden; it must, therefore, have lain in the Tyropœon valley a short distance above the point where it opens into the Kidron valley. In this case it is identical with the Fountain Gate that is mentioned so frequently by Nehemiah. In Neh. 2[14] the Fountain Gate was passed by the governor in going along the wall from the Dung Gate to the King's Pool. In 3[15] it was rebuilt between the Dung Gate and the wall of the Pool of Siloam. In 12[37] it was traversed by the first company of Levites in going from the Dung Gate to the Stairs of the City of David. The name Fountain Gate shows that it gave access from the city to the Fountain of Siloam, in which case it must have lain in the Tyropœon valley near the mouth of the Siloam conduit. This, however, is precisely the location that our references demand for "the gate between the two walls."

The other passage in which the expression "between the two walls" is used is Is. 22[9-11]: "Ye held back the water of the lower pool . . . and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool." Here "lower pool" is identical with "old pool" (note the similar parallelism of v.[9a] with [10]), and the idea is that the water was prevented from flowing into the lower or old pool, and was made to flow into a new reservoir between the two walls. There is no room for doubt that this refers to the hewing of the Siloam tunnel by King Hezekiah. In 1886 Schick discovered an aqueduct on the surface of the ground on the east side of the eastern hill, leading from the Virgin's Fountain to Birket el-Ḥamra, or the lower Pool of Siloam, at the mouth of the Tyropœon valley. This is evidently older than the rock-hewn tunnel under the hill, which was designed to be a substitute for it. When now we read, "Ye held back the waters of the lower pool, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," this can only refer to a blocking up of the old watercourse outside of the city from the Virgin's Fountain to Birket el-Ḥamra, and a bringing down of the

water through the Siloam tunnel to 'Ain Silwân. This is the same undertaking that is referred to in 2 Ki. 20[20], where it is said of Hezekiah, "He made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." 2 Chr. 32[4] states that Hezekiah "stopped all the fountains and the brook (נחל) that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" and 2 Chr. 32[30] states that "Hezekiah stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." The "upper outflow" that Hezekiah stopped is the old channel on the surface of the ground outside of the city wall, on the east side of the eastern hill. Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain, and "the west side of the City of David" is the west side of the eastern hill where the Siloam conduit empties (cf. 2 Ki. 18[17]). In the light of this evidence it is unquestionable that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit. In this tunnel the famous Siloam Inscription was discovered, and it is interesting to note that the word מוצאת, which it uses of the outflow of water from the source, is the same that 2 Chr. 32[30] uses of the outflow of Gihon.

The result of our investigations thus far is, that "the gate between the two walls" is the Fountain Gate, which lay in the immediate vicinity of 'Ain Silwân; and that the "pool between the two walls" is 'Ain Silwân itself.

The question that must now be raised is, What do we know about walls in the vicinity of 'Ain Silwân? From 2 Sam. 5[9] we know that David fortified the City of David with a wall; this wall, accordingly, must have inclosed the southern end of the eastern hill. Traces of it and of the scarps that formed its foundation have been discovered by Bliss and by Guthe on the southern and eastern sides of the hill high above the bed of the Kidron. No traces of this wall have yet been discovered in the Tyropœon valley, but the artificial scarp on which it stood may be followed for some distance above Siloam.

At a later period a wall was built around the western hill, which joined the wall of the City of David at Siloam. This

is described by Josephus in *Wars*, v. 4^2, as follows: "On the other side, on the west, beginning at the same place [*i.e.* at the Tower of Hippicus, at the modern Jaffa Gate] it extended through a place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes; then, on the south, it made a curve past the fountain Siloam; after which it made another bend out of its course on the east side at Solomon's Pool, and ran to a certain place called Ophel, where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple." From *Wars*, v. 9^4, it appears that the Pool of Siloam lay outside of the city. This indicates that the wall did not cross the Tyropœon valley from the southern end of the western hill to the southern end of the eastern hill, but that it followed the cliff on the western side of the pools to a point above Siloam and there crossed the valley to join the wall of the City of David on the eastern side. This wall as described by Josephus corresponds with the remains discovered by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss in 1894, extending all the way from Maudslay's scarp in the Protestant Cemetery to the south end of the west hill. From this point Bliss traced a wall on the western side of the Tyropœon as far as the Upper Pool of Siloam, where apparently it crossed the valley and joined the wall of the City of David. Bliss also found another massive wall that served at one time as a dam for the Lower Pool of Siloam, crossing the mouth of the Tyropœon valley from the southern end of the western hill to the southern end of the eastern hill.

These are the historical and archæological facts in regard to walls in the vicinity of Siloam. In view of them, what is one to think of the meaning of the expression "between the two walls"? The following theories have been held: —

1. That the two walls are the eastern and western walls of the old City of David at the southern end of the eastern hill. But Hezekiah's pool is identical with 'Ain Silwân, and this does not lie between the walls of the City of David, but at the bottom of the Tyropœon valley outside of the City of David. Moreover, the Gate between the Two Walls, or Fountain Gate, did not lie in the wall of the City of

David, since, according to Neh. 3^{15}, 12^{37}, one had to go eastward from it to reach the City of David.

2. W. Robertson Smith, as edited by G. A. Smith in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 2419, suggests the view that "Hezekiah's pool was protected by an outer line of fortification, and that here lay the gate of the two walls." This theory is a necessary corollary of Robertson Smith's idea that Jerusalem was limited to the eastern hill until Maccabean times; but it is destitute of archæological evidence. No walls have been found in the vicinity of Siloam that serve to join the Pool of Siloam as a sort of appendix to the City of David. The wall on the west side of the Tyropœon defends, not the pool, but the western hill; and the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon is evidently designed to defend the whole southern end of the city. The expression "between the two walls" is applicable to a pool inclosed with an outer wall which attached it to the city, but it is not applicable to a gate which lay outside of this enclosure. Robertson Smith disguises this difficulty by calling it the "gate *of* the two walls," but the Hebrew says distinctly "the gate *between* the two walls."

3. Bliss, Guthe, Benzinger, Kittel, Marti, Duhm, Wilson, think that the "two walls" are the wall of Josephus that crosses the valley above 'Ain Silwân and the massive wall at the mouth of the valley from the end of the western hill to the end of the eastern hill. This theory explains satisfactorily the name "between the two walls" applied to the Pool of Siloam, but it does not explain this name as applied to the Fountain Gate. If the two walls are the wall north of Siloam and the wall south of Siloam, the Fountain Gate was not between two walls but through one wall. Furthermore, it is very doubtful whether the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon was in existence as early as the time of Hezekiah. It was not in existence in Josephus's day. He says distinctly that Siloam lay outside of the city, and that the wall bent above Siloam, and again at the Lower Pool, which he calls Solomon's Pool. It seems unlikely that the preëxilic city should have been more exten-

sive than Herod's city, and that the task of crossing the deep Tyropœon valley should have been shunned by Herod when it was accomplished by the ancient kings. We know that the Empress Eudoxia (450–460 A.D.) built a wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon, so as to protect the church at the Pool of Siloam. The outermost wall that Bliss discovered is probably her work, and there is no good reason to suppose that it followed the line of a more ancient wall.

4. The only theory left is that the two walls are the walls on the two sides of the Tyropœon valley, that is, the eastern wall of the western hill and the western wall of the eastern hill. This is the view of Duhm, and is suggested as an alternative theory by Benzinger and Marti. If this be so, it throws light on the moot question among archæologists of the antiquity of the south wall as described by Josephus. If the valley of Hinnom be identified with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, then the Valley Gate of Neh. 2^{13} and 3^{13}, which was in existence as early as Uzziah (2 Chr. 26^{9}), must be identified with Josephus's Gate of the Essenes and with the gateway which Bliss discovered at the southwest corner of the city near the Protestant Cemetery. In that case Nehemiah's wall, as described in Neh. $2^{13\text{-}15}$, $3^{13\text{-}15}$, $12^{31\text{-}37}$, followed the same line as Josephus's wall; but Nehemiah's wall was merely a repairing of the preëxilic wall, consequently we shall have to assume that the western hill of Jerusalem was inclosed in preëxilic times. If, on the other hand, Robertson Smith is right in identifying the Hinnom with the Tyropœon, then Nehemiah's wall did not follow the same course as that of Josephus, and there is no evidence that the western hill was inclosed in preëxilic times. There is a strong probability in favor of the identification of Hinnom with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, but the case cannot be regarded as settled, and so long as this is uncertain there will be doubt concerning the area of preëxilic Jerusalem.

The phrase "between the two walls" throws a great deal of light upon this matter, for it indicates the existence of a wall on the western side of the Tyropœon valley at the time when this phrase was used. The mention of the "gate

between the two walls" in 2 Ki. 25[4] carries us back to the period of the Exile, and shows at least that the two walls were in existence before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. This means that the wall described by Josephus and excavated by Bliss was in existence in pre-exilic times. The mention of "the pool between the two walls" in Is. 22[11] carries us back to a still earlier period. Is. 22[1-14] is in the main an oracle of the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701. Recent commentators (*e.g.* Duhm, Cheyne, Marti) reject vss.[9b-11a] on the ground that they interrupt the connection between [9a] and [11b]. In [8b-9a] we read, "Ye looked to the armor in the House of the Forest, and ye saw that the breaches in the City of David were many." Verse [11b] continues, "But ye looked not to Him who prepared all this, and Him who fashioned it long ago ye did not regard." These two sentences seem to belong together, and the description of the repairing of the wall and of the construction of the new pool that comes between looks like the interpolation of a learned scribe. I am not quite sure that this argument is valid. These items are not irrelevant to Isaiah's thought that the nation has depended upon worldly helps rather than upon Yahweh, and the contrast "ye looked to the armor, but ye looked not to Yahweh," could easily be carried over the short, intervening clauses. Moreover, these clauses are in poetic parallelism, and show the alternation of parallels that is favored by Isaiah (cf. Is. 7[14-17]). The language also is archaic and poetic. It is possible, therefore, that these words are an original part of the prophecy. However, even if they are an interpolation, this does not affect their value as archæological evidence. The scribe who added the statement, "Ye held back the water of the old pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," must have had access to historical sources for the reign of Hezekiah independent of our books of Kings or Chronicles, which contain no such statements as these. There is no reason, accordingly, to doubt the correctness of this information,

even if it be not an integral part of the prophecy of Isaiah. This passage indicates that the expression "between the two walls" could be used as early as the reign of Hezekiah, that is, that the wall inclosing the western hill existed as early as his time. The expression "between the two walls" is never used before the reign of Hezekiah, and this fact leads to the conjecture that "the other wall," which Hezekiah is reported to have built, was the loop around the southern end of the western hill. In 2 Chr. 32^5 we read: "And he took courage and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without" (or "another wall without"). This passage is not found in the book of Kings, but it does not show the peculiarities of the Chronicler, and must have been derived by him from an ancient source. It is confirmed by Is. 22^{10}, "And ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall." It was the building of this southernmost line of wall that first made the description "between the two walls" possible for the region round about Siloam. If these arguments be valid, then Josephus's southern wall was as old as the time of Hezekiah. The inner line of wall on the south, which Bliss discovered, encircling the upper portion of the western hill, must then be the line of Solomon and the other kings who preceded Hezekiah.

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Ethnological Parallels to Exodus iv. 24–26

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THIS little paragraph Ex. 4^{24-26} has been a puzzle to the expositors, older and more recent. It narrates that Moses was on his way from Midian back to Egypt; "And it came to pass on the way, at the camping-place, that Yahweh encountered him and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a sharp flint and cut off the foreskin of her son and touched his feet, and said . . . Then he refrained from him." What Zipporah said will occupy our attention later. For the present it is sufficient to note that according to the main stream of the narrative just quoted, the author desires to teach the efficacy of the blood of circumcision as a remedy (or, more exactly, a charm) against disease. When one is suddenly threatened with death, this blood saves his life.

The words used to describe the application of the blood to the patient are וַתִּגַּע לרגליו. The modern commentators see in לרגליו a euphemism, as though with the amputated ערלה Zipporah touched the corresponding part of Moses' person. On the basis of this interpretation they assume that the wrath of Yahweh was aroused by the fact of Moses' uncircumcision, and argue that the circumcision of the son was a substitute for that of the father. But this is to read something into the text. The words "his feet" are perfectly intelligible in their ordinary sense, and the passages cited to sustain the theory that they are euphemistic cannot be called convincing. The verb before us is וַתִּגַּע. The pointing shows that it is parallel to והנגתם of Ex. 12^{22}. In this latter passage it is used of sprinkling or smearing the blood of the passover lamb on the doorposts of the house. The two narratives seem to be from the same hand, and we

can hardly be wrong in supposing that the author (J in both cases) thought of the two actions as strictly parallel. As in the one case the Sons of Israel were threatened with death and were delivered by the blood of the passover lamb streaked on the door, so in the other case, Moses, when threatened with death, was delivered by the blood of his child rubbed on his feet.

It is evident that we have here a view of circumcision which differs markedly from the one which has passed into tradition. The directions of P in Gen. 17 say nothing of the disposal of the blood shed in the operation. The author there emphasizes the rite as a sign of the covenant, the mark in the flesh which showed membership in the people of Yahweh. In the passage before us this view does not appear, and the blood is the most important thing. It would scarcely be fair to say that the operation is in the writer's mind only a means for procuring the blood, for the blood owes its efficacy to the fact that it is shed in a religious rite. But in the religious rite the disposal of the blood is a matter of prime importance, — so much we are authorized to say. This is a more primitive view than the one held by P, and the passage makes upon us the impression of great antiquity both in this respect and in the matter of the stone knife, which appears only here and in the primitive rite of Josh. 5.

As illustrating the view of circumcision present in the Hebrew writer's mind, I venture to adduce some ethnological parallels which have never, so far as I know, been brought into connection with the Biblical passage. They are from the two works of Spencer and Gillen, entitled *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, and *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.

It is well known that the tribes whose customs are described in these works all practise circumcision. "After the operation the foreskin is handed to the boy's *okilia* (elder brother or son of his father's elder brother), who also takes charge of the blood from the wound, which has been collected in a shield. He greases the piece of skin and gives it to the younger brother of the boy and tells him to swallow it, the

idea being at the present day that it will strengthen him and make him grow tall and strong. The blood is taken by the *okilia* to his camp, where he hands it over to his *unawa* or wife, and she then rubs the blood over the breasts and foreheads of women who are elder sisters of the boy's mother or of himself. These women must not on any account touch the blood themselves, and, after rubbing it on, the woman adds a coat of red ochre. The mother of the boy is never allowed to see the blood. Amongst some groups of western Arunta the foreskin is presented to the sister of the newly circumcised youth, who smears it with red ochre and wears it suspended from her neck" (*Native Tribes*, p. 250 f.). In another tribe (we are told) the blood and foreskin are taken as before by the *okilia*, and buried in a hole in the ground. Small stones are laid in the hole, after which the sand is filled in and a small stick — perhaps six inches long — is laid over the place. This stick is called *ultha*, and neither the boy who has been operated upon nor any woman may go near it (p. 268). After a young woman has undergone the operation which corresponds to circumcision, the blood is smeared over the bodies of her female relatives, who also drink some of it. When a man is very ill, blood drawn from a woman may be given him as medicine or rubbed over his body, and a woman may be treated in the same way with man's blood. The point of interest is that blood so used is drawn from the organs which have been operated upon by one of the rites of initiation (p. 463 f.).

From the work entitled *Northern Tribes* we have the following: "In the Urabunna tribe the stone knife used in the operation is made ready by the boy's maternal uncle and by his elder brother. After the operation the knife and the foreskin are handed to the elder brother who provided the knife, and he goes around and with the foreskin *touches the stomach* of every man who stands in the same degree of relationship to the boy. This is then buried" (p. 334). "Similarly, in the rite of subincision, which is common to all these tribes, the young man who is operated on touches the head of his father with a little of the blood from himself" (p. 361). In

another case, after subincision, the boy who had been operated upon was lifted up over two men who stood in the relationship of brothers to his destined wife, and the blood from the wound was allowed to drip on their backs. This we are told established a special friendly relation between him and them. At the same time and place some of the blood was as usual "placed in a paper bark dish and, together with the spears and boomerangs, handed over by the father to one of the boy's *tjakaka* (mother's elder brothers), whom he told to go and bury the blood in the bank of a water-hole where the lilies grew. The foreskin, tied up in bark, was at first taken possession of by the *tjakaka* man, who subsequently handed it over to his son, telling him to send it on to a tribal father of the boy living in a distant group. This man finally brought it back to the boy's father with a present of spears, and it was then handed once more to the *tjakaka* man who, after cutting it in pieces, buried the remains in the ground by the side of a water-hole" (p. 372). It may be remarked that the bulbs of the water-lilies are eaten by the natives, and the burial of the foreskin at the place where they grow is supposed to insure an abundant crop.

I may add the following: "The drawing and drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship, and are obliged to assist one another. At the same time it makes treachery impossible. As described in connection with the avenging expedition of the Arunta tribe, the men taking part in this [expedition] assembled together, and, after each one had been touched with the girdle made from the hair of the man whose death they were going out to avenge, they drew blood from their urethras and sprinkled it over each other" (p. 598, with which compare the statement at the bottom of p. 560). In these tribes, as in the cases cited above, special care is taken of the blood drawn by circumcision. The only difference is that, in the tribes now in view, the boy's mother drinks some of it. Here also we read of one locality where it is buried by the side of a water-hole — in this case by the boy's

mother. Here also we find the practice of giving a sick man or woman blood to drink, and of rubbing blood on the body (p. 599 f.).

Among all these cases only one can be called strictly parallel to the one in Exodus. This is the one in which the foreskin was made to touch the stomachs of a definite group of men. But I think it clear that the theory at the basis of the whole group of observances is the same, and that it illustrates the thought of the Biblical author. This theory is that the blood of circumcision is a powerful charm. The amputated skin is also a powerful charm, and, in case the actual rite cannot be performed, blood obtained from the place of circumcision is equally efficacious. All the Australian instances show this to be the view, and it is the only view which will account for the passage before us. If now we seek for a further explanation, in other words if we ask ourselves how this efficacy came to be attributed to the blood of circumcision, we are reminded again of the blood of the passover. That defended the Israelites from death because it was the blood of an animal consecrated to Yahweh as a sacrifice. The dedication of the animal made it partake of divinity to such an extent that the destroying angel or even Yahweh himself could not attack those protected by it.

If the parallel holds, we may justly argue that the blood of circumcision has its magic power because it is the blood of a consecrated person, and that the rite of circumcision is thought of as an act of dedication. But we are not yet at the most primitive conception. The passover victim, when consecrated, is put to death. The tradition which brings the passover feast into connection with the slaying of the first-born intimates, not obscurely, that the original rite was the consecration and consequent sacrifice of the first-born son. The acceptance of an animal as a substitute was a modification of the original rite. May we not argue that circumcision is another modification of the original rite? In the case narrated of Moses, it was actually the first-born son whose blood saved his father from death. If we are to speculate at all on the reason for the anger of Yahweh, the

most plausible hypothesis seems to be that Moses had delayed to sacrifice his son, and that Zipporah saw that the blood of the boy would be accepted, though his life was spared. If that were the lesson of the passage in its original connection, we can account for the fragmentary form in which it has come down to us. The editor would be reluctant to preserve so primitive a trait. Circumcision is in fact supposed by some scholars to be a substitute for human sacrifice.

Confining ourselves to the more obvious teaching of the passage, which we have seen to be the efficacy of circumcision blood, it may be interesting to notice that even in late tradition the blood has not become a matter of indifference. Rosenau, in his recent book on *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions*, says, "If a circumcision has for some cause or other been performed at night, blood, known as the blood of the covenant, must be drawn from the male organ of the child during the following day." And again, "A child born without a foreskin has simply the drop of blood constituting the blood of the covenant taken from him by incision." This requirement of blood to be shed seems to be a survival of the primitive view, though the blood is no longer applied to the persons present.

Up to this point we have had no difficulty with our text. Fragmentary as it is, it is perfectly clear, and the author's main interest is plain. The substitution of "the angel of Yahweh" or simply "an angel" for Yahweh himself in some of the versions is plainly secondary; aside from this there is nothing that calls for remark. It is different when we come to the part of the narrative heretofore ignored, verses ^{25b} and ^{26}. These are usually rendered: "A bridegroom of blood art thou to me. Then He refrained from him. So she said: A bridegroom of blood for circumcisions." To see how inapposite these words are, we must put ourselves in the position of the original writer. The incident which he narrates from tradition was of importance to him not so much because he found it in the life of Moses, as because it had some connection with the customs and usages of his own time. In the real sequence of events the usage was first, the narrative

which justified it was secondary. At the time when the tradition arose it was already an established custom to rub the blood from a young man or from a child just circumcised, or to rub the amputated piece of skin, on the men of the clan. Tradition supposed this to have arisen because at one time Moses was very ill and was saved by the circumcision blood of his first-born son. The sequel of the story should, therefore, be something like this: "Therefore, to the present day, when a child is circumcised, the foreskin is rubbed on the feet of each man of the family." And I believe that something like this was the original ending of the paragraph.

The present ending is unintelligible, first, because it makes Zipporah use twice the phrase חתן דמים. Conceding that she might have used it once, we are yet wholly at a loss to account for the repetition. To give a reason for present usage (which we have seen to be the author's purpose), the second phrase should be put in the mouth of the people. What we expect, but do not find, is some phrase which the people still use on the occasion of circumcision. But this is only the beginning of our difficulty. The phrase חתן דמים is likely to mislead us, as it has misled the older expositors, if we translate it 'a bridegroom of blood.' To us the most natural understanding of the words is the one given by Ewald: "She threw the foreskin at the feet of her husband, and reproached him with being a blood-bridegroom, that is, a man whom she received in marriage under the cruel necessity of shedding her child's blood unless she were willing to lose him." But the word חתן does not primarily mean a bridegroom. It means a relation by marriage, whether son-in-law, brother-in-law, or cousin-in-law. It is indeed used of a bridegroom in passages which correlate groom and bride, passages where we might also say *son-in-law* and *daughter-in-law*. In the case before us, it would be inappropriate to call Zipporah a bride, and it is equally so to speak of Moses as her bridegroom; for there is no reason why she should think of him as her newly wedded husband. What must have filled her thought (as the incident was conceived by the narrator) was the efficacy of the circumcision blood, and

what she said must have been intended to encourage her husband by reminding him of this efficacy, or else to call the attention of the threatening God to what she was doing. A חתן דמים is one who has been brought into covenant relations with the clan, and, therefore, with the clan-god, a בן ברית in later Jewish usage. It is clear that it would have been perfectly appropriate for Zipporah to say to Moses: "Thou art in covenant with this hostile Yahweh, and therefore canst not die at his hand." It would have been equally appropriate for her to say to Yahweh: "This is a man in covenant relations with thee, and therefore safe from thy wrath." If we allow חתן דמים to stand, we must change the rest of the sentence (אתה לי) and read either חתן דמים הוא לך, or חתן דמים אתה לו.

I am aware of the precarious nature of conjectural emendation. It may be well to notice therefore that the earliest interpreters of the passage felt it necessary to get from it some such meaning as I have indicated. The Greek version renders, with no substantial variation in the manuscripts, *ἔστη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου*, and this is confirmed by the Old Latin which has: *Stetit sanguis circumcisionis infantis mei.* The verb *ἔστη* (*stetit*) is difficult to account for. Whether it has been corrupted from an original *ἔστι*, or whether, as the lexicons intimate, *ἵστημι* may on occasion be practically equivalent to *εἰμί*, I will not attempt to decide. But the translators understood the passage to contain Zipporah's warning to the hostile power, as though she had said: "Here is the most potent of all charms to ward off thine attack — the blood of circumcision." Those copies which have vs.[26] (it is omitted by homœoteleuton from B) have a similar understanding for that verse, rendering it: "Then he released him because she said: It is the blood of circumcision of the child."

Onkelos shows a similar apprehension of the passage: "By this circumcision blood is the חתנא given to us. . . . Therefore she said: Had it not been for this circumcision blood the חתנא would have been condemned to die (אילולי דמא דמהלתא הדין אתחיב חתנא קטול)." The so-called Jeru-

salem Targum, which paraphrases rather than translates, also takes pains to show that the chief point in the narrative is the expiation for guilt wrought by the blood. It is not probable that the Targums had access to any different text from the one now in our hands. They are of importance as showing how the translators were compelled to find in the passage what I have tried to show must have been there originally. Whether the Greek translators had a different text before them is not easy to say, and I am not prepared to restore such a text. The original intent of the passage has been sufficiently indicated.

One question still remains. Is the passage designed to give the origin of circumcision in Israel? This view is now generally held, if we may judge by the most recent commentaries, the best and, so far as I know, the earliest statement of it being that of Wellhausen, which I may quote in full. Speaking of the difference between the method of P, who defines the obligations of Israel in the form of statute-law, and that of J, who deduces these obligations from some event of past times, he says: "Yahweh does not command that the sinew of the thigh shall not be eaten; he wrestles with Israel and dislocates his thigh, and, for this reason, the sinew must not be eaten. How it came about that the young boys are circumcised in Israel is related thus [here follows our text in its accepted meaning]. Zipporah circumcises her son instead of her husband, and so frees the latter from the wrath of Yahweh, under which he has fallen because he is in reality no blood-bridegroom, that is, because he has not been circumcised before his marriage. In other words, the circumcision of young boys is here historically explained as a milder substitute for the circumcision of young men before marriage" (*Prolegomena*[3], p. 354 f.).

With reference to the alleged parallel in the sinew that shrank it must be recognized at once that the Biblical author has left no doubt in our minds. He says in so many words, Gen. 32[33], that the custom arose on account of the specific incident which he has narrated. In the case before us there is no such specific declaration. We are left to discover the

lesson of the incident for ourselves. Being thus left, all we discover is what has already been pointed out — the value of circumcision-blood in danger or sickness, and the custom of streaking such blood on the men of the clan. That it is legitimate, when such an exigency as severe sickness arises, to circumcise a child without waiting for any fixed date in its life, would also be a fair deduction from the passage. But that the passage is intended to teach the introduction of the rite into Israel does not seem probable. It may be that the author thought of Moses as uncircumcised, though this seems hardly likely, and it is not a necessary inference from this passage.

To the latest times of Israel's existence it was clear that circumcision was the sign of the covenant between Yahweh and the people. We now see that in the earlier period this thought was expressed in the significant action of streaking the blood of the newly circumcised youth or boy on the men of the clan, or on as many of them as happened to be present. The use of blood in covenant ceremonies is too common to excite remark. But we are tempted to push the inquiry one step farther back; why should circumcision be the mode of obtaining the covenant blood? Some light is thrown upon this custom by the Australian customs which suggested this paper. As we already know from other sources, mutilations of the body are often imitative. For example, among some of the Australian tribes, at initiation, a series of cuts is made on each side of the spine of the novice. These are from four to eight in number on each side of the spine, and are completed by one at the nape of the neck. The scars which are left by these wounds enable a man who has been through the ceremony to be distinguished at a glance. "The cuts, according to tradition, are supposed to represent the marks on the back of the bell-bird, and they are made in commemoration of the time in the Alcheringa (the mythical age of the world before the present system of things came into being) when the bell-bird was instrumental in causing the death of a great hawk-ancestor who used to kill and eat the natives" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 385). Similarly,

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the knocking out of the front teeth practised by some of the tribes is known to be imitative. A myth recounts that in the Alcheringa the snakes thus knocked their teeth out. And the point of interest here is that we find a similar myth with reference to circumcision. "Two Parenthie lizards, who were elder and younger brothers, came away from the south into the country of the Utmajera, and finding there some men and women whom an old crow had transformed out of Immintera (that is, imperfectly formed men and women), they operated on the men, both circumcising and subincising them. When all was over they said to the men: Do not say anything to the women about what has been done to you, because it is *churinga* (sacred) and must not be known by women, and they will think you arose just as you are. The men promised to do just as they were told, and, looking at themselves, said that they were *like the Parenthies*" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 495).

In all these cases the rites of mutilation are explained by the desire to imitate the appearance of animals. But this desire is explicable only by the system which we call "totemism." Totemistic societies (all the Australian tribes belong in this category) recognize the kinship of men, animals, and gods. To make the relationship real, the human members of the organization make themselves (especially on solemn occasions) as nearly like their animal brothers in behavior and appearance as they can. Moreover, they cement the relationship by various blood-rites. The rite of circumcision answered a double purpose; it made the men like some totem animal, and it furnished the blood by which the covenant was sealed. This does not invalidate what was said above about circumcision being a modification of an original human sacrifice, for in totemistic rites the sacrificial victim must be made like the totem animal, and the blood most efficacious for cementing the unity of the clan is the blood of a sacrificial victim. From the particular totem clan which originated it, this rite easily spread to others because of its connection with the sexual life.

The Judgment of Foreign Peoples in Amos i. 3–ii. 3

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THE attitude of a Hebrew prophet toward foreign nations appears to be determined, as a general rule, by the attitude of such nations toward the prophet's people; it is friendliness for friendliness, hostility for hostility. This is manifestly the case in Is. 7, 17[1-3] (Ephraim and Syria), 10, 31 (Assyria), Nahum (Nineveh), Zeph. 2 (Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Assyria), Jer. 46 (Egypt), 49 (Ammon, Moab), Ezek. 25 (Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia), 26–28 (Tyre, Sidon), 29–32 (Egypt), 35 (Edom), Obadiah (Edom), Is. 13, 14, 21[1-10], 43, 47 (Babylonia), 45 (Cyrus), Jer. 50, 51 (Babylonia), Zech. 2[6-13] (Babylonia), 1[15] (unfriendly nations), Mal. 1[2-4] (Edom), Zech. 9[1-8] (Syria, Tyre, Philistia). In other cases the historical relations of the peoples and the tone of the prophetic passage are uncertain; so in Is. 14[29-32] (Philistia), 15, 16 (Moab), 18 (Ethiopia), 21[11-17] (Dumah, Arabia), 23 (Tyre), Jer. 25[15-31] (all nations except the Babylonians). In none of these cases is the prophet's denunciation or applause dependent on the moral character of the nation in question. The sudden change of front in the seventh and sixth centuries is significant. Nebuchadrezzar is regarded by Jeremiah and Ezekiel as an invincible monarch and as Yahweh's instrument for the purging of Israel, and they are friendly to Babylon; but when Cyrus approaches and there is hope that captive Israel will return to its own land in peace, the prophet of that time gives vent to fierce exultation over the imminent downfall of Chaldea. The

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necessary inference from all these facts is that, while the intranational moral code of the prophets was good, their judgment of foreign nations was in these cases morally low, and that Yahweh, as they thus describe his conduct, was not just.

It is held by many recent expositors, however, that the denunciation of foreign peoples in Amos is based on purely moral grounds — that the atrocities mentioned are condemned not because they were inflicted on Israel but because they were sins against humanity. This is by no means clear. They all refer to deeds committed in war, and in ancient Semitic warfare cruelty was the universal rule. In this regard the Israelites did not differ from their neighbors. According to the record Saul by Samuel's direction (1 Sam. 15) put the Amalekites to the sword, men, women and children; Jehu (2 K. 9, 10) slew all the males of Ahab's family, and Jezebel, and a temple-full of Baal-worshipers; Menahem (2 K. 15^{16}) did in Tiphsah just what is charged in Amos against Ammon; and wholesale slaughter is enjoined in Deut. 13^{15} 25^{19}, and is promised by Yahweh in Deut. $32^{41.42}$; and while these prescriptions in Deuteronomy were never carried out, their spirit is the same as if they had been carried out. Only in one passage (Hos. 1^{4}) is there any condemnation of such procedures on the part of Israelites, and in this passage the ground of condemnation seems to be not the cruelty of the act but the religious apostasy of the house of Jehu. In fact this strenuous way of conducting war was not regarded as wrong. When Elisha (2 K. 8^{11-13}) weeps over Hazael's future deeds, it is not at their cruelty, but for the reason that Israel will be the sufferer; Hazael thinks it a "great thing" that is promised him, and Elisha was doubtless of the same opinion.

Devastation of territory and slaughter of the inhabitants are the things charged against Damascus, Edom and Ammon in Amos; they might also be charged against Israel, and there is no good reason to suppose that in such a case Israelite moralists would condemn them. However, a distinction is made in Deut. $20^{13.14}$; the men are to be killed, but the

women taken as slaves. This rule is a hundred or more years later than Amos. It is possible, however, that he anticipated it, and that in the indictment of Ammon he lays the stress on the treatment of women; but comparison with 2 K. 8^{11-13} and the expression in Amos 1^{13} "that they might enlarge their border" make it probable that he is thinking merely of the slaughter as intended to get control of Israelitish territory.

The charge against the Philistines and Tyre is selling captives into slavery. This also was permitted by the laws of war of the time, and was probably practiced by the Israelites; the special prohibition of the sale of Israelite slave wives to foreigners (Ex. 21^{8}) and of foreign slave wives (Deut. 21^{14}) makes it probable that other slaves might be sold. There is no evidence that the Israelites engaged in wholesale slave-trading as the Phœnicians and Philistines are said to have done; but the right of such trading is recognized in the Torah, and is not called in question anywhere in the Old Testament. It is not said whether the captives sold by the Philistines and Tyre were Israelites or others, nor is the precise nature of the "covenant of brothers" violated by Tyre stated, and therefore the interpretation of the paragraphs devoted to those two countries is doubtful. The obscure phrase גלות שלמה seems to refer to the carrying off of all the people of some community; but our historical records give no information on this point, and we can only surmise from the context that the reference is to some Israelite city or region.

As to the offence of Moab (2^{1}) it is impossible to say, from the Masoretic text, what its precise nature was. The text of vss. $^{1.2}$ is in disorder,[1] and the historical reference, if there be one, is not known. The paragraph, on its face, alludes to a ritual crime, some insult to a dead king of Edom. If this be connected with the campaign of 2 K. 3, it is to be noted that Edom was then the ally of Israel, and

[1] In 2^{2} I suggest the omission of the words ומות and מואב so as to bring the expression into accord with that in 1^{14}; מואב may be gloss and ומות erroneous scribal repetition from the preceding word.

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insult to the one was insult to the other. In any case no strictly moral consideration is involved.

It appears from this review that it cannot be said that the judgment of foreign peoples in Amos rises above the narrow national point of view. How much of this introductory denunciatory section is from the hand of the prophet Amos it is not easy to determine. The paragraphs on Tyre and Edom (and that on Judah) are pretty certainly of later origin. That the book begins with a string of denunciations is a surprising fact. The only other example of such a prologue (omitting the monographs of Nahum and Obadiah) is Zech. 9^{1-6}, in which the countries mentioned are Syria, Tyre (and Sidon) and Philistia; the coincidence is noteworthy, though not decisive for the date of the Amos passage. For the purpose of this note the dates are of secondary importance.

The Dating of their Manuscripts by the Samaritans

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THE immediate occasion of this paper was the offer to sell in New York a fine manuscript of the Samaritan Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. The codex, two pages of which are here photographed, is indeed a superb piece of calligraphy, and its parchment generally excellent, though of varying quality and thickness. It contains 265 leaves. Added interest in this manuscript has been aroused by the report that it is the oldest dated Hebrew codex in existence, its date being quite circumstantially given as 116 A.H. (= 734 A.C.). It has been further asserted that the caliph Marwân is mentioned in the cryptogram. By means of photographic reproductions of certain pages, the manuscript has been offered for sale in various places, with a price attached to it quite in keeping with its supposed date. I understand that at one time this had reached the dizzy height of $100,000, but lately it has fallen to $35,000. A speculative trust is said to have been formed in Beirût to hold and eventually to sell the manuscript, which will probably remain a holding trust for some time to come.

Though the age assigned to the manuscript has been declared authentic by a number of scholars — among them Dr. B. Moritz, Keeper of the Khedivial Library in Cairo — the statements made concerning it could hardly contain more errors than they do. Even if the reading of the date were correct, the inference drawn would yet be erroneous: the St. Petersburg codex No. 4 is dated 99 A.H. (= 717 A.C.), and codex Watson II is dated 85 A.H. (= 655 A.C.). But,

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in the first place, there is no mention of a caliph Marwân in the cryptogrammic colophon. I can only suppose that the word אורואן (plural of אורהותה "law")[1] has been mistaken for a proper name and connected with that of the caliph. Moreover, the date 734 A.C. would conflict either with the burial day of Marwân I, which was some time in the year 685, or with the birthday of Marwân II, which was some time in the year 744. Furthermore, the date itself has been wrongly construed. I find that one of the photographs came into the hands of Mr. A. Cowley, the learned sub-librarian of the Bodleian; and that he very justly questioned the construction placed upon the *ta'rîkh*.[2] For this *ta'rîkh* is cryptogrammic in its arrangement only, and not at all in its real sense. Upon its face the codex does indeed look old; and from what I have seen of similar synagogue codices in Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Rome, I should have assigned to it quite a respectable age. This the Samaritans themselves seem to have done; and either in Nāblus, or in Gaza, or in Damascus, or in Egypt (wherever it may have tarried), it must have been the object of much veneration. At two places this veneration has spoilt the beauty of the text. Lev. 9^{22} וישא אברם את ידו אל העם ויברכם and Num. 6^{24} (the ברכת כהנים) are much blurred and blotched, as if from an excess of kissing. The manuscript must have been open at these pages, in order that the worshipper might come into physical contact with the promised blessings.[3]

[1] אורהותה, אורהותא, אורהותה or even אורה (Harkavy, *Catalog der hebräischen und samaritanischen Handschriften . . . in St. Petersburg*, ii. p. 49) is the Syriac ܐܘܪܝܬܐ the Talmudic אורייתא or אורייא. The plural occurs in the following forms: אוראן, אוראן, אורון, אוראון, אוראן, אוראן, אורה, אהרוהאן (Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 49; *JQR*, xiv. 31). In place of this Aramaic form, we sometimes find the Hebrew התורה הקדושה or תורה simply.

[2] See *JQR*, xvi. p. 483; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 396.

[3] This is a practice common to Karaite and Rabbanite Jews in the Orient. Nearly every synagogue has, in addition to its scrolls, one or more copies of the Bible or some of its parts in book form (called כתר תורה or תאג) which were, and still are, regarded with superstitious veneration. They are kissed and stroked; but only taken out on the festival of *Simkat Torah*.

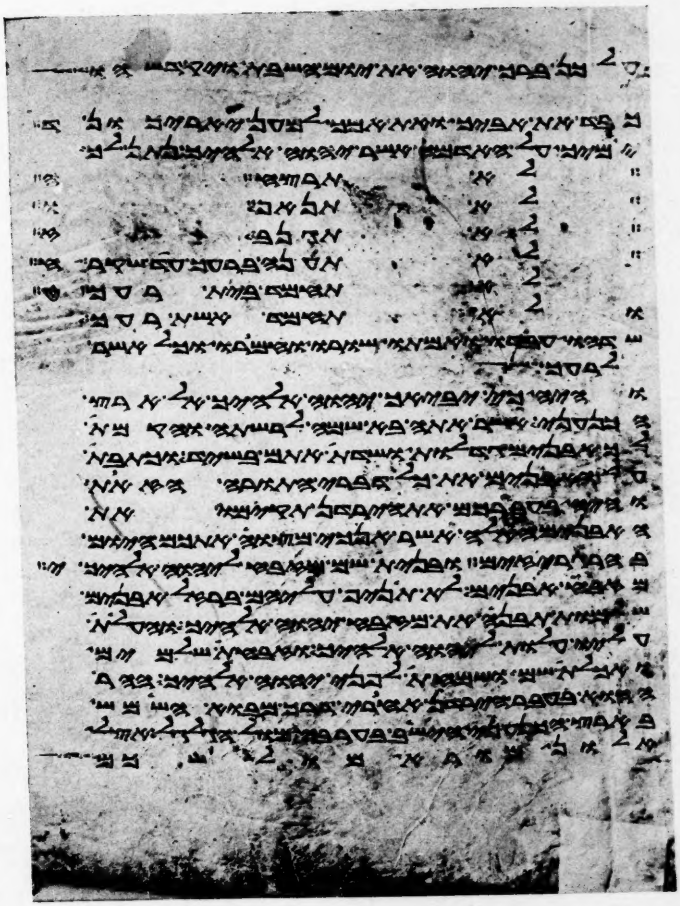

FIG. 1. — A PAGE CONTAINING A PORTION OF EXODUS XX

Whether the efficacy of this act depended upon the age of the parchment and of its writing, I do not know. The manuscript is now no longer in the hands of such as can be benefited by it, and we need have no hesitancy in revealing the fact that it is some 785 years younger than has been supposed.

It must not be forgotten that the Samaritans, having so few connections outside of their own small communities, were even more engulfed in the Arab invasion than were the Jews. The impress of the new culture was seen at a very early time both in their language and in their literature. Samaritan must very soon have become merely a religious and literary tongue — sooner even than Syriac did among the Aramaic-speaking Christians of Palestine and Syria. If it is true that a hundred years of Arab dominion robbed these of their ancient speech, what wonder that the process succeeded even more quickly with the Samaritans. It is, therefore, no argument against the authenticity of Cod. Watson II that the writer dates his work according to the Mohammedan fashion;[4] though Damascus, in which place he lived, had fallen into Arab hands only twenty-three years previously. So far as I am aware, there are no Samaritan manuscripts in which the date is not according to the Mohammedan era.[5] This era is variously expressed לממלכות ישמעאל, לממלכת ישמעאל; or simply לישמעאל; לממלכת בני חגר[6], לממלכת בני קדר[7], ישמעאליה; and, in a few cases,[9] לממלכת עם נדם, לעמי נדם, and once, with an addi-

[4] See *JAOS*, xx. p. 173.

[5] In other enumerations, *e.g.* the Masorah (see below), the larger numbers are placed first. In Hebrew and Arabic either method may be followed (Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., i. p. 259, D). In the lithographed copy of Exodus mentioned at the end of this article, the date according to the Exodus is given in the Hebrew manner שנה . נ . וב . שנה . מאות . ה . שנים . אלפים . ו.

[6] See *JAOS*, xx. p. 177.

[7] De Sacy, *Mémoire sur la version Arabe des livres de Moïse à l'usage des Samaritains*, p. 4.

[8] *JQR*, xiv. p. 28; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 144, and the Hebrew inscription at Nâblus, *ZDMG*, xiv. p. 624, lines 3 and 4.

[9] בשנת . א . נ . זק . לעמי . נרס, *i.e.* 751 A.H. (Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, p. 19); שנת . ד . ון . וח . כאות . מן . עמי . נרס, *i.e.* 894 A.H. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75); בשנת . ח . ושמנה . מאות . לממלכת . עם . נרס, *i.e.* 808 A.H.; . בשנת . שנים . ושבעים . ושמנה . מאות . לממלכת . עמי נאדם, *i.e.* 872 A.H. (De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 17).

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tional word לממלכת עשו נדם.[10] What the word actually means we do not know. The root does not occur in Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew, in Aramaic or in Syriac. If it does not contain some mystic gematria, it may be connected with the Arabic نكس *to bore, to throw on the ground, to calumniate, to insult;* though it seems almost impossible that the Samaritans would use so openly an "insulting" term in reference to their over-lords. But the Mohammedan era is found even where additional and confirmatory dates are attached, *e.g.* [11] למושב ישראל בכנען, or according to the supposed date of the Exodus or the Creation.[12] The months given are also invariably the Mohammedan ones. Only in most isolated cases is the Jewish Hebrew method used, as in a Passover hymn [13] שנת הטסב אחרי בכיו עדף, where the whole date is incomprehensible, or in the jumbled Hebrew of the modern Samaritans in their letter to Professor Kautzsch a few years ago: [14] אחד מאות (!) ואחד וחמשים נפש.

Usually the formula is as follows:

(1) שנת אחד וששים ושבע מאות שנה

This might also be written:

(2) שנת · א · וע · ושבע מאות שנה

or again:

(3) שנת · א · וע · ו · מאות שנה

or, lastly, making use of the Hebrew ק for the hundreds:

(4) שנת · א · וע · ו · ק · שנה

[10] I do not understand this. In Jewish writings Esau = Rome = Christianity. It is quite evident that such cannot be its meaning here.

[11] Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 18.

[12] *Ibid.* p. 68; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 219. In a few mss. from Egypt, the Coptic, Persian, and Alexandrian dates are added (*ZDMG*, li. p. 504).

[13] Heidenheim, *Vierteljahrschrift*, iii. p. 362.

[14] *ZDPV*, viii. p. 150. The same remark applies to their method of dating according to Hebrew style in their letters to Job Ludolf . שנת . ששת אלפים . וכאה . חמשה . ועשרים . שנה . לבריאת . עלמה (*Epistolae Samaritanum Sichemitarum*, Cizae, 1688, pp. 9, 16), or, according to Arabic fashion, in writing to Huntington: سنة الاف ومايتة واربع عشر سنة (Schnurrer, *Samaritanischer Briefwechsel*, p. 34, etc.). I suspect that Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. 53, 18, contains a date which I do not understand.

According to scheme No. 4 I have found the following mss.:

Bodleian cod. Pococke No. 5,
שנת · א · וכ · ח · ק · *i.e.* 721 = 1321
Juynboll, *Chron. Samar.*, p. 19,
בשנת · א · נ · ז · ק · *i.e.* 751 = 1350
Harkavy, *Cat.*, p. 88, שנת · י · ח · ק · *i.e.* 810 = 1407
Ibid. p. 71, שנת · ב · ונ · ח · ק *i.e.* 852 = 1448
Barberini Triglott (*Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95),
בשנת · א · ום · וחק · שנה *i.e.* 881 = 1476
Cod. Berlin Or. fol. 534, שנת · צ · ח · ק *i.e.* 890 = 1485
Paris, cod. Samar, No. 5, ו · ום · וט · ק *i.e.* 967 = 1559
Harkavy, *Cat.*, p. 71, שנת · ו · צ · וט · ק *i.e.* 997 = 1589

Many of the Masoretic notes at the end of mss. are also written in this system (see below).

We are now ready to take up the colophon in our manuscript. As is well known, such colophons are rarely to be found at the end of the manuscript; in nearly every case they are woven out of some part of the text of the Biblical books — preferably of the first chapter of Deuteronomy. Our manuscript has them also at this place, and the final letter of each word so selected is characterized by a horizontal stroke underneath it. The colophon thus deciphered reads:

אני · יעקב · בן · יוסף · בן · משלמה · בן · יוסף · דמן · כהני ·
האבן · כתבת · הזה · אזהותה · קדישתה · למבה · ויקירה · וקראה ·
ונלאה · וחשובה · וכתובה · וממוכה · רבה · וארכונה · יוסף · בר ·
סהבה · ויקירה · וממך · קהלה · וארכונה · ועשה · טובה · מתוחיה ·
בר · סהבה · ויקירה · וממך · קהלה · וארכונה · יוסף · בר · סהבה ·
ויקירה · וממוכה · רבה · וארכונה · נגמה · דמבוי · מתוחיה ·
ומתוחיה · הזוכיר · כתבה · ממדלה · על · שם · ברז · הזוכיר ·
ולית · לה · בה · שותף · וכן · בחדש · נמדי · האחראן · שנת ·
אלפ · למלכות · ישמעאל · והיא · מלוי · ו · ארואן · מדאה ·
לאלה · דכן · סעד · בחסדו · ואשול · לה · ימליני · מלף · לנבה ·
בנים · ובני · בנים · אמן · אמן · אמן · בעמל · משה · הנאמן ·

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and may be translated:

"I, Jacob, son of Joseph, son of Mashlamah,[15] son of Joseph of the Priests of the Stone, have written this holy Torah for the aged and honored Reader and Prayer-leader,[16] the worthy scribe, the great Appointed One,[17] the Archon[18] Joseph, the son of the aged and honored, The Appointed One of the Congregation, the Archon and doer of good, Methohiah, son of the aged and honored Appointed One of the Congregation, the Archon Joseph, son of the aged and honored The Great Appointed One, and Archon Najmah of the Sons of Methohiah. And the aforementioned Metho-

[15] The name occurs several times; see the letter of Mashlamah ben Ab זכות in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrschrift*, i. p. 88; Azîmah bar Mashlamah in a Samaritan chronicle of the eleventh century (*ibid.* p. 380); Abi Ḥānā Mashlamah of the Benē Sagiana (? Juynboll, *l.c.* p. 19, who transcribes it *Meshullamah*. For סגיאנה, cf. סגינה *JAOS*, xx. p. 176); Joseph ben Mashlamah in Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95.

[16] קָרְאָה, צַלְּאָה, evidently referring to his office as official leader in prayer. Cp. Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 74, 109: קָרֵה, צַלֵּה. Juynboll, *l.c.* p. 20; De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 198. An Arabic superscription renders this by القارى المصلّى (*JQR*, xiv. 31; Bloch, *Die samaritanisch-arabische Pentateuchübersetzung*, p. 31).

[17] סמוכה, often סמוך or . קהלה . סמוך (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 74). Juynboll (*l.c.* p. 19) translates 'Rabbi.' So does De Sacy (*l.c.* p. 16); but also '*consecratus*' (p. 197). If it is a title, it may stand in some connection with . כהנה . רבה, a designation not used by the younger (Levitic) branch (cf. הכהן . הלוי . פני . הקהל *JAOS*, xx. p. 176). It may, however, be nothing more than an honorific appellation, as Watson holds (*JAOS*, xx. p. 176). 'Stay' or 'Pillar' will then be the equivalent of the Arabic عماد in such names as عماد الدين, عماد الدولة. An Arabic superscription gives . סמוך . קהלה as سند الجماعة (Bloch, *l.c.* p. 31). G. Margoliouth makes out of this a proper name, "Sadaḳa bar Samuka"!! (*ZDMG*, li. p. 504).

[18] ארכונה or . קהלה . ארכון (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 109) or ארכון . עדתה (*ibid.* p. 71). Cp. the Syriac and Palestinian ܐܪܟܘܢ. In the Targûm ארכון = נגיד (1 Chron. 11[2]; 2 Chron. 11[11]; 28[7]; Job 31[37]; 29[10]); נדיב (Prov. 21[28]; Job 34[18]); שר (2 Chron. 34[8]); ישיש (2 Chron. 36[17]). I do not know that this denotes any particular grade in the Samaritan hierarchy. In the Arabic superscription mentioned above, it is translated by ركن الجماعة, which is chosen not simply because of the similarity in sound, but also because ركن means 'a noble or high person'; cf. هو ركن من اركان قومه (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1149).

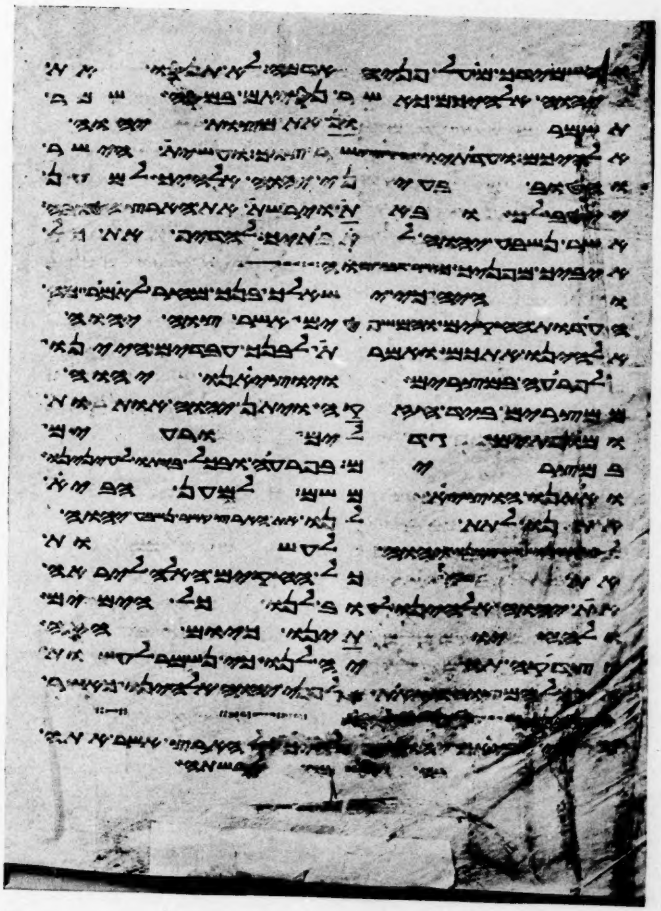

FIG. 2. — A PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY SHOWING THE DATE IN THE CHRONOGRAMMIC COLOPHON

hiah had it written[19] at his own cost[20] for his aforementioned son: nor has he any associate in it. This was in the month Jumadah II, in the year אוֹמֵק (901 = 1495/6) of the rule of the Ishmaelites. It is the completion of six Torahs. Praise be to God that He has assisted me in His mercy. I supplicate of Him that He may grant me to teach in (out of)[21] it children and grand-children. Amen! Amen! Amen! Through the intervention of Moses the Faithful One."[22]

Who the persons mentioned in this colophon were we do not know: their names do not appear in other colophons, nor in the three chronicles that have come down to us. I have punctuated Mashlamah and not Meshalmah, as is

[19] So I translate תְּחוּבָה. See Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 73. De Sacy (*l.c.* p. 16) translates '*legis peritus*,' which is hardly correct.

[20] מכודלה; cf. مخ وحد and similar expressions מדילה, כול מדלה (Kohn, *Zur Sprache . . . der Samaritaner*, p. 69; H. Hildesheimer, *Des Samaritaners Margah Buch der Wunder*, p. 38).

[21] ימליני . מלף . לגבה. אלף√ מלף = לגבה. Cf. וילמד . לגבה . ימלי . יתה . בה . בנים . ובני . בנים (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 110; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 30); וילמד . לגוה . בנים . ובני . בנים (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75); וילמד . לגוה . בנים (*ibid.* p. 77); ימיליני . מאלפה . לבנים . ובני . בנים . (שאל√) ואשוללה (ms. Bodl. Pococke, No. 5); וימלי . ברה . יקרי . לגבה (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95) . ובן . בנה . and with a change of the first word: מלף . ל (Af. √מסא) וימסי (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 122). For נבה and נוה cf. נבאי = נחבי (*ZA*, xvii. 10). For לגבה = בגבה cf. *ZDMG*, li. p. 501 (No. 3).

[22] The equivalent of the Jewish term בזכות. Cf. בעמל . משה . דמע . הנאמנים (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 110), בעמל . דמע הנאמנים (*Hebraica*, ix. p. 217; Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* iv. p. 211; 224. 18; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75. דמע = 'the best,' *ZA*, xvii. 7); בעמל . משה . עברך (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. pp. 25, 35; iii. p. 119. 33; iv. p. 230), all of which seem to go back to the old scroll at Nāblus, which has בעמל . כ[שה] . הנאמן. Once it occurs in Arabic letters بعمل مشه هنامن (Nutt, *Samaritan Fragment*, p. 161); and, probably, with the alif omitted. בעמל . משה . הנמן (Bloch, *l.c.* p. 34). In the superscription published in *JQR*, xiv. 31, we have אמן . הכהן . משה . בעמל, which I suspect to be a misreading for משה . הנאמן. The merit of the patriarchs is only occasionally invoked; *e.g.* בעמל . אברהם . יצחק . ויעקב (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75). In the Barberini triglott both the patriarchs and Moses are referred to: בשלשה . והמלך . ובן . עמרם . מהימנה . אברהם . יצחק . ויעקב = שלשה. In the liturgy we find such expressions as בעמל . משה . נאמנך . ועבדך; *ibid.* ii. p. 7. In another hymn we find: בעמל . השלשה . חזקאים . אבותיכון . ויוסף . אביכון . ואחרן . זבניו (*ibid.* iv. p. 203 and cf. p. 220. 8).

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sometimes written; for the name is evidently formed according to the Arabic proper name Maslamah; just as Najmah probably stands for the Arabic al-Najm, which I believe to be the equivalent of some such Hebrew name as Mazal Ṭob. The scribe, Jacob, refers to himself as one of the כהני האבן. I have come across the same expression in two Samaritan mss. of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, dated respectively 1068 A.H. (=1657) and 1084 A.H. (=1673).[23] To what can this refer? The expression is not used in any account of the Samaritans, old or young, to which I have had access. I have thought that it might possibly have some connection with Gen. 49[24], where God is spoken of as רעה אבן ישראל and would then be equivalent to כהני יהוה —an oddity of expression of a kind to which the Samaritans are not altogether strangers. But perhaps it would be simpler to take אבן as the equivalent of מזבח and to think of the מזבח אבנים mentioned in Ex. 20[25]. The Samaritan poet Abisha speaks of the מזבח אברהם as one of the glories of Mount Gerizim.[24] The place of this altar is still shown, as are also the stones brought up from the Jordan (Deut. 27[4]), where "are still celebrated the most sacred rites of the community."[25]

The Maecenas belonged to a family which is otherwise known. In the chronicle "Tolidot," one note mentions Shebet, son of Zabo, as the progenitor of the Bene Methoḥiah;[26] another note gives his name as Methohiah, son of Rewaḥ, son of Zadok, son of Abi Ezer;[27] and I shall not attempt to decide which notice is correct.[28] A Zadaka ben Yeshua ben Methoḥiah ben Tobiah ben Abraham ben Berakah ha-Levi of the "City of the Priests," who lived in

[23] Harkavy in Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History*, p. 167.

[24] Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.*, iii. p. 87.

[25] Cowley in *Encycl. Biblica*, iv. 4202; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 27 (the Russian text of which I am unfortunately not able to read); Geiger in *ZDMG*, xx. p. 156.

[26] Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrschrift*, iv. p. 370.

[27] *Ibid.* p. 381 and Neubauer's ed., pp. 22, 32.

[28] The Samaritan uses the expression ידע. ויהיה (*JAOS*, xx. p. 175) = والله اعلم.

Egypt, is mentioned several times: in a St. Petersburg ms. of the year 894 A.H.,[29] in cod. Bib. Nat. Sam. IV of the year 872 A.H., and in cod. Watson I of the year 868 A.H.[30] He is called שרתי המכתבים הקדשים, or שמש המכתבים הקדושים במצרים, an expression which shows that the words שמש המכתב קדש cannot mean simply 'the servant of our master the Law,'[31] but must refer to some office in connection with the famous Abisha scroll or of copies made from it and at one time preserved in Egypt. An Abraham bar Abd YHWH bar Abraham ben Shamash of the Bene Methoḥiah in the tenth century is also mentioned,[32] and a Methoḥiah of Shechem in the year 810 A.H.[33] The small evidence we thus have takes us into the fifteenth century, in which the writer of our ms. also seems to have lived.

I have translated the words והיא · מלוי · ו · אורואן 'and it is the completion of six Torahs.' This seems to be the only explanation possible for the expression; yet it seems hard to credit the scribe of cod. Watson I with the seventy-four copies which he prides himself upon having written, though the wording there and elsewhere is quite explicit by the addition of the word כתבתי, *i.e.*[34] והיא מלוי ארבעה ושבעים תורה כתבתי.

There are in our ms., as in all Samaritan books, various

[29] Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75.

[30] *Hebraica*, ix. p. 217.

[31] As Cowley translates, *JQR*, xiv. p. 352. Cf. the inscription upon an old Torah scroll: כהנה · שמש · מכתב · אבישע · בן · פינחס · בכנסת · ארץ · מצרים.

[32] De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 198.

[33] *ZA*, xvi. p. 91. The bill of sale in the lithographed copy of Exodus (see below) mentions a certain מתפציה son of Methoḥia, 544 A.H. (= 1149).

[34] והיא · מליו · ו · וכ · ארהון · כתבתי, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 133.
והיא · מלוי · ד · וי · אריואן · כתבת.
והיא · מליו · ט · י · תורה, *ibid.* p. 73.
והיא · מלוי · י · ה · אוראון · כתבתי, *ibid.* p. 144.
והיא · מלוי · ז · ארואון · כתבת, *ibid.* p. 148.
והיא · מלוי · ג · [ארוא]ן · כתבו, *ibid.* p. 207.
והיא · מליו · ג · אהרוהן, *JQR*, xiv. p. 31.
והיא · מליו · נ · ול · אהואן · כתבתי, Bloch, *l.c.* p. 31.

The sentence before the last is rendered in Arabic by وهى كمالة ثلاث شروع and the last by وهى له ثلاث وثلاثين نسخة كتبت.

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conceits in the arrangement of the text, which must have made the task of copyist a very difficult one. In Ex. 2[1] the text is arranged in a circle, so that the letters read upon the circumference make up the sentence משה אביר בועלמה 'Moses the great one in the world.' A similar procedure in the arrangement of Numbers 4[34] brings out the words הר גריזים 'Mount Gerizim'; while a third one in Ex. 31[14] gives us השקד רמש ירשא לרשא, the barbarous Hebrew of which might perhaps mean, 'He who waits for yesterday does evil to his own head,'—which is none too lucid. A perpendicular cryptogram in Ex. 12[1] reads, ראש המצות 'The commencement of the Commandments'; in Ex. 14[19] יהוה נצוני קרביה which I venture to translate 'Jehovah is the help of those that are near to Him,'[35] נצוני being the Samaritan equivalent of the Arabic منصور and ناصر.[36] Similarly in Deut. 32[48], we read נביה יהי מלתו מלה "The prophet's word shall be the word"; in Lev. 27[11] אהן ספר תורואות "This is the book of the Torahs," and, finally, in Numbers 6[10] the following:

במזבח · אברהם · וקימת · יעקב · ובשער · השמים · ובמזבח
יצחק · כתב · זאת

'By (or through) the altar of Abraham, and the statute of Jacob, and the gate of heaven and the altar of Isaac he has written this.' The ten commandments in Exodus are numbered on the margin—a practice said not to be found in older manuscripts,[37] and having a polemical point against the notation of their Jewish brethren.

I should also like to call attention to some further notes of a little different character, and appended partly in the hand of the original scribe and partly in the hand of a later one. In an article published by Dr. M. Gaster in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for 1900,[38] he

[35] Or 'Jehovah help speedily!'

[36] Cowley in *JQR*, xiv. p. 352.

[37] *JQR*, xiv. p. 31. Some Greek codices also have the ten words numbered upon the margins (Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 360).

[38] p. 256.

makes the statement, "No trace of such a Masorah has as yet been found in Samaritan mss."; and in all the works upon the Masora of the ordinary Bible no mention is made of a Samaritan Masora. And yet, it has been known that such a Masora exists — at least in its infancy; and it might be of interest to those who indulge in such mathematical subtleties to study its relation to the Syriac and the Jewish Masora. The Samaritan Masora does not seem to have gone beyond the mere counting of sections, words, and letters. Like its Mohammedan counterpart to the Koran, which counts the جزء, كلمة and the حرف, it adds up the קצים (קצין),[39] the מלים (מלין), or כתבין, and the אותות; the last, however, very often appearing only in a later hand. Our ms. adds also another enumeration which entirely passes my comprehension: it is always introduced by the word מספרין 'their number.' One would imagine that this refers to the numerical value attached to the letters just mentioned, especially as the numbers run up into the millions; but I am too little of a mathematician to work out the different sums. In the Samaritan manuscripts the numbers given in these final Masoras differ sensibly from each other; which difference may be due either to the faults of scribes or to divergencies in the manner of writing individual words by the various writers. This Masora is evidently old. In the copy under consideration, there is a Masoretic cryptogram at Lev. 7^{1} חצי התורה 'the half of the Torah'; though in cod. Watson I it is at Lev. 7^{12}; and in a ms. dated 655 A.H. it is at Lev. 7^{15} (פלגה אורהותה), which reminds one that the old Samaritan theologian Marḳah, who is generally supposed to have lived in the fourth century, refers to such a division as common in his days.[40] The Jewish Hebrew text has, as is well known, a similar Masoretic remark at Lev. 11^{42};[41]

[39] Rosen in *ZDMG*, xviii. p. 588. The word is evidently connected with the Arabic قصّ and means 'division.' In a little different sense it is used in the Samaritan liturgy, קצי הבריה 'Extracts from the Creation account' (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. p. xxvi).

[40] כך כתב אורהותה ופלג קציה Baneth, *Des Samaritaners Marqah . . . Abhandlung*, p. 54.

[41] Blau in *JQR*, viii. p. 347.

the difference not being as great as one would have imagined.

The Masoretic notes in our ms. run as follows:

1. At the end of the Book of Genesis, in the original hand:

ספר · הראשון · קצים · ר · ון · ומלים · ו · וכ · אלף · ור · וח · ונ · מלה

In a later hand, this has been verified and corrected (אתקשט):

אתקשט · מספר · המלים · כ · אלף · ומ · ק · וה · מלה · ואותות · מ · וע ·
אלף · פ · וח · ק · מם · ומספרון · ו · אלף · אלף · וקפב · אלף · ודק · ום ·

2. At the end of the Book of Exodus, in the original hand:

ספר · השני · ר · קצים · ומלין · יז · אלף · ור · ול ·

In a later hand:

אתקשט · מספר · המלין · יז · אלף · וח · ק · וום · ואותות · מח · אלף ·
וחק · וום · ומספרון · ד · אלף · אלף · ותק · אלף · וכמ · אלף · ודק · פר ·

3. At the end of the Book of Leviticus, in the original hand:

ספר השלישי · קצים · ק · וה · ול · ומלין · י · אלפין · וש · ול ·

In a later hand:

אתקשט · מספר · המלים · יב · אלף · ומ · מלה · ואותות · מה · אלף ·
והק · וא · ומספרון · נ · אלף · אלף · וקמא · אלף · ווק · עה ·

4. At the end of the Book of Numbers, in the original hand:

ספר הרביעי · ר · ויח · קצים · ומלין · יז · אלפין · וק · וך ·

In a later hand:

אתקשט · צא · אלף · וק · כו · מלה · ואותות · סו · אלף · ומד ·
ומספרון · ד · אלף · אלף · וה · ק · אלף · ומב · אלף · והק · יד ·

5. At the end of the Book of Deuteronomy, in the original hand:

ספר החמישי · תורה · תמ[ימה · בר]וך · נות [נה] · מלין · יד · אלף · ות · וכ ·
והיה · כל · מלי · התורה · הקדושה · בתמה · ר · ופ · אלף · וש · ב · ום · מל ·
[סחונ]יך · סחון · עדן · הגה · והים · מלי · מן · מים ·
[מש]קי · חיים · מנן · עדן · כן, כתבה · מלי · רחמם ·
[בא]ור · הגדול יכסי · מן · הוה · בכתבה · דביק ·

[ ]כתבה · לא · יתכסי · ידי · אנש · טב · וצדיק ·
[42]]ורש · אלה · עליו · יחמל · לא · יסור · ימין · ושמאל ·

In a later hand:

אתקשט · המלים · יד · אלף · והק · ויח · ואותות · נו · אלף · ודק · ונד · ומספרין · נ · אלף · אלף · וחק · אלף · ולב · אלף · ודק ·

At the end of Deuteronomy is also the following:

(1) עתקנן מן אבהתן על מה עתקו על השבעים חוק (?)
(2) הנסדר מקרתה עשרה והיא פסק נגד אמתו
(3) ארכנו בעו שאילה ועיקה ופף אותמתו
(4) תורה מדע מכשב אפם מיתב לכל חדה מנהין
(5) יתברך מן אמר אלכדה את בני ישראל שימה
(6) בפיהם בחשבן אלפן כשתה

In the following table, which gives a *résumé* of these notes, I have designated the original hand by "A," the second hand by "B":

	קצים	מלים	אותות	מספר
Genesis . .	A 250[43]	A 27,258[44] B 20,905	B 79,929[45]	B 6,182,460
Exodus .	A 200[46]	A 17,230[47] B 17,846	B 68,866[48]	B 4,529,484
Leviticus . . .	A 135[49]	A 10,330 B 12,040	B 45,501[50]	B 5,161,678
Numbers . . .	A 218[51]	A 17,120 B 91,126[52]	B 67,044[53]	B 4,542,514
Deuteronomy .	A 160[54]	A 14,420[55] B 14,518	B 56,454	B 3,832,496
Whole Torah .	B 960[56]	A 86,362 B 82,437[57]	B 314,511[58]	B 81,608,436?

[42] I have completed the first two lines from cod. Watson I (*Hebraica*,' ix. p. 223), where only the first half is given. The whole may be translated in this fashion: 'Behold thy portion (Kohn, *Zur Sprache ... der Samaritaner*, p. 176) is in Eden (or 'is pleasant'), drawing life from the Garden of Eden. He (God) will cover him with a great light; from (מן) the book he will not be blotted out ('hidden'); if he study in it, God will have compassion upon him. As the sea is full of water, so is the book full of mercy.

I have no doubt that the enumerations are altogether incorrect, especially as the addition of the original numbers does not agree with those put down for the whole Pentateuch. I have given in the notes a comparison with other enumerations that were at my disposal. A closer and a more complete study of the question is only possible with the aid of the mss. themselves. In the Jewish Masora also these numbers vary greatly; by some the letters in the Pentateuch are put at 300,000, by others at 600,000.[59] Blau, however, has shown that the first is probably the more correct; and this would agree in a measure with the Samaritan enumeration. The words in the Hebrew Pentateuch are counted by the Jewish Masora at about 80,000 (79,856 or 79,976), which is also not too far removed from the reckoning of the Samaritan Masora. The Syriac Masora of the Peshitta deserves also some attention; unfortunately nothing has been written on the subject by those who have the

He who clings to the book, will be a good and righteous man, turning neither to the right nor to the left.'

[43] So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 93, 156, 171, 181; Watson in *Hebraica*, ix. p. 222; *JAOS*, xx. 175; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

[44] So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 93; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

[45] But 79,810 in *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

[46] So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 139, 166; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29; but 198 (?) *JAOS*, xx. p. 175.

[47] So, also, *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

[48] 69,008, *Hebraica*, *ibid.*

[49] So, also, Harkavy, pp. 134, 156; *Hebraica*, *ibid.*; *JAOS*, *ibid.*; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

[50] But 46,550; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

[51] So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 114; but 220 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; *JAOS*, xx. p. 175; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

[52] Evidently a mistake, as the number is too high.

[53] But 67,110 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 222.

[54] So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 241; *JAOS*, xx. p. 175; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; but 107 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 107.

[55] But 14,424 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; 29,362 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97.

[56] But 962 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 92; 966 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

[57] But 96,190 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97; 86,362 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

[58] But 312,500 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97.

[59] Ben Asher, 400,945; "Manuel de Lecteur," 400,900; Curtis ms. 305,607; Norzi, 304,805; Ginsburg's Massorah, 290,136. See *JQR*, viii. p. 349.

manuscripts at their disposal. The division into קצים by the Samaritans is paralleled by the division into ܣܕܪ̈ܐ by the Syrians.[60] Lee's edition gives the enumeration only for Genesis and Exodus; but in the mss. it is given for the other books as well. The following table gives the number of ܣܕܪ̈ܐ according to the final Masora in Lee's edition, cod. Brit. Mus. II (13th century), cod. Bodl. I (1627 A.C.), cod. Bodl. III (1195 A.C.),[61] and the *Auṣar 'Rāzē* of Bar 'Ebrāyā:[62]

	Ed. Lee.	Brit. Mus.	Bodl. I.	Bodl. III.	B. E.
Genesis	34[63]	35	34	34	34
Exodus	26	26	26	26	26
Leviticus		20[64]		20	20
Numbers		26		26	27
Deuteronomy . . .				20[65]	25
Total	126		186	126	

It will thus be seen that the number of ܣܕܪ̈ܐ in the Peshitta varies; but it is interesting to note that the official number of Sedarim in the Pentateuch, according to the Palestinian tradition, is handed down as 154; and it would thus seem that the division as made by the Syrian Church is much nearer that of the Jewish Synagogue than is the

[60] ܣܕܪ̈ܐ = סדרים (κεφάλαια). See Perles, *Melemata Peschitthoniana*, p. 29; König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 413. There is a difference in the numbering of the ܣܕܪ̈ܐ between the Eastern and the Western Syrians (see Diettrich, *Die Massorah der östl. und westl. Syrer . . . zum Propheten Jesaia*, p. xlii); but I believe that the mss. cited in the text are Jacobite.

[61] See Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, i.; Payne Smith, *Catalogus codicum Syrorum*, passim.

[62] See the detailed information from a Florence ms. in S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Med. Laurentianae Catalogus*, p. 66.

[63] See B. H. Larsow, *Greg. Barhebræi Horreum Mysteriorum*, p. 3. There Bar 'Ebrāyā mentions a further division of Genesis into six ܦܨܩ̈ܐ.

[64] So, also, Bar 'Ebrāyā; see Kerber, *Greg. Abulfaragii . . . scholia in Leviticum*, p. 11.

[65] So, also, Bar 'Ebrāyā; see Kerber, *A Commentary to Deuteronomy* in *AJSL*, xiii. p. 91. This does not agree with the number given in the Florence ms.!

Samaritan.[66] The Syriac Masora also counted the letters in the different books — or, rather, the ܡܢܝܢܐ, which, as will be seen, cannot possibly refer to the letters. The following table gives the number of ܡܢܝܢܐ in the Masora appended to Lee's edition, compared with that appended to codd. Bodl. I and III:

	Ed. Lee.	Bodl. I.	Bodl. III.
Genesis	4509	4509	4631
Exodus	3626	3620	3560
Leviticus	2454	2454	
Numbers	3521	3521	
Deuteronomy	2796	2796	2783
Total	16,906	16,906	16,925

Of course, these numbers fall ridiculously short of the number of words one would expect to find in the Peshitta text. The translation, especially of the Pentateuch, follows the original so closely that the number can hardly be less than that of the Hebrew text; it ought to be more, in view of the additional enclitic words used so frequently in Syriac.

One might imagine that the word ܡܢܝܢܐ refers to the verses; but here we have the opposite phenomenon. There are too many. According to the Jewish Masora the number of verses in the Pentateuch is as follows: Genesis, 1533; Exodus, 1209 (or 1207); Leviticus, 859; Numbers, 644;

[66] Another division very much like that of the Hebrew Pārāshiyyot, and named according to the subject matter, is found in some codices. Perles, *l.c.* p. 22, has pointed out the coincidence. Such titles occur in Greek Bible codices: see the lists in Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 354. The Syriac Masora seems, also, to have commenced to count the number of times certain words occur in portions of the Peshitta; in just the manner of the Jewish Masorites. See Bar 'Ebrāyā in Lagarde, *Praetermissorum libri duo*, p. 100; in the Psalms 5 ܒܗ, 732 ܡܢܝܢ, 400 ܟܕ. In a modern Nestorian ms. (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 139) similar notes are found: 732 ܡܢܝܢ, 400 ܟܕ, 285 ܡܢܝ, 6 ܡܢܗ, 6 ,ܐܝܢ, 24 ܡܨ, 1 ܡܢܐ, 2 ܥܨ, 44 ܐܝ, 5 ܒܗ, 5 ?ܒ. From Bar 'Ebrāyā such notes have found their way into Peshitta mss. (Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 47, ms. No. 9; Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. xii.)

Deuteronomy, 955 (or 953)—making a sum total for the whole Pentateuch of 5845, or 5842, or again 5835.[67] This shows that there are on an average about three Syriac ܡܠܬܐ for one Hebrew verse. The same holds good if we take the Book of Psalms.[68] According to the Jewish Masora this book has 2527 verses; but according to the Syriac it has either 4830 or 4832 ܡܠܬܐ. For some of the other books I have drawn up the following table:

	Ed. Lee.	Bodl. I.	Jewish.
Joshua	2167	2167	656
Judges	233 (?)	2066	618
Samuel	3436	3436	1506
Kings	none	5326	1536
Chronicles	5603	5603	1765
Proverbs	1863	1863	915
Ecclesiastes	none	627	222
Canticles	none	296	117
Job	2553	2553	1075
Ezra and Nehemiah	2361	2361	688

[67] Blau in *JQR*, ix. p. 479.

[68] Besides being divided into five books, as is the Hebrew text, the Syriac Psalter is divided into 29 ܦܣܩܐ (codd. Brit. Mus. clxxxvii, cciii; cod. Bodl. xvi; Lagarde, *Praetermissorum*, p. 241, 3), into 20 ܩܛܥܐ or ܩܨܨܐ, and into ܣܝܡܢܝܐ. These last are given either as 57 or 60, according as the so-called ܩܨܐ ܕܫܝܪ (two songs of Moses and the Song of Isaiah) are added or omitted. These are the designations used by the Eastern and the Western Syrian Church, though the latter have only 15 ܣܝܡܢܝܐ (see Bodl. codd. ix and xv), each of which they divide again into 4 ܡܐܡܪܐ, making 60 in all. The Easterns divide the Psalms again into ܩܛܥܐ, of which there are twenty; the Westerns do not seem to use such a division. Sometimes the division is made according to the Greek Church into ܩܣܛܣܛܝܐ (*καθίσματα*) and ܡܐܡܪܐ (Wright, *Catalogue*, pp. 128, 131, 134, 136). Finally, the ܡܠܬܐ are arranged in pairs, ܙܘܓܐ (Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 60). The subject has been partly treated by Dietrich, *De Psalterii usu publico et divisione in ecclesia Syriaca*, Marburg, 1862; by Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, p. 9, and especially by Joseph David in his *Psalterium Syriacum*, Mosul, 1878, p. xlvii. The number of words (ܡܐܡܪܐ) in the Psalms is given as 19,834 (Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. xii) or 19,934 (*Catalogue of the Syriac Mss. in the Cambridge University Library*, p. 1051). The Syro-Palestinian naturally uses the Greek ܩܣܛܣܛܝܐ (see Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv. p. 105, and Swete, *l.c.* p. 350).

It is quite plain therefore that in the Syriac Masora the term ܡܢܝܢܐ cannot denote either 'words' or 'verses.'[69] For the one the number given is too high, for the other it is too low. It can therefore have reference only to the *στίχοι*, in which the text was written.[70] This can be proved from the Psalms. In the ordinary Syriac text, and at the head of each Psalm, the number of ܡܢܝܢܐ is given. These numbers represent with fair accuracy the number of divisions in the Psalm according to the interpunctuation by dots and colons. I have no doubt that a comparison of good manuscripts would reveal exact coincidence.[71] Blau seems to have counted these for the whole Book of Psalms — though

[69] As translated by Abbé Martin, *La Massore chez les Syriens*, in *JA*, 1869, p. 283, and Baethgen, *l.c.* p. 9, who however adds "von denen in der Regel zwei oder drei einem hebräischen gleich kommen."

[70] Perhaps the better word to use would be *κῶλα* or *κόμματα*, the designations for sense-divisions; the *στίχοι* being used to regulate the pay of the scribe and to facilitate reference; see Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 344. Lagarde (*Mittheilungen*, iv. p. 206) thinks this is the translation of ἴστη; but that word does not seem to have been ordinarily used for such purposes. It is interesting to compare the lists given above with the stichometric lists both of the LXX and of the Vulgate, as given by Sanday in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, iii. p. 266, and Swete, *l.c.* pp. 347 ff. The coincidences are in some cases remarkable.

[71] The division differs in the mss., as will be seen from the following table for the first ten Psalms:

	Brit. Mus. cod. clxviii.	Brit. Mus. cod. clxix.	Brit. Mus. cod. clxx.	Bar 'Ebräyä, ed. Lagarde.	Ed. Lee.	Ambr. ed. Ceriani.	Syr. Hex.
i	14	14	—	17	14	14	15
ii	28	28	19	28	28	28	27
iii	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
iv	20	19	19	21	20	20	16
v	28	28	28	30	27	28	30
vi	20	19	20	21	27	20	21
vii	35	35	35	38	38	35	38
viii	18	18	18	20	18	18	20
ix	42	40	42	102 ܡܨ for ܡܢܨ	42	42	84
x	18	38	38	42	38	38	18

I have added the ܡܢܝܢܐ from the Syro-Hexapla, according to the photolithographic reproduction of Ceriani and the edition of Bugatus, *Liber Psalmorum secundum ed. sept. interpretum*, Mediolani, 1798.

he wrongly calls them "verses"[73] — and finds the number to be 4793;[73] a number near enough to that mentioned in the Masoretic notes above. This then must be also the meaning of the 5896 פסוקים mentioned in Talmud Ḳidd. 30 a, as Blau has correctly seen; and I should imagine that the 15,842 פסוקים mentioned for the Pentateuch in Yalḳūṭ, I, 855, refers also to the stichoi, as do the Syriac 16,906. The Vulgate lists give the sum of stichoi for Leviticus as 2300, 2400, or 2600 — a number not far removed from the Syriac 2454. For the Book of Proverbs the Vulgate gives 1840 stichoi, the Peshitta 1863.

I have no means of knowing how old these divisions in the Peshitta are; it is possible that they have been introduced from the Septuagint. The Brit. Mus. cod. Syr. No. xlix, containing the translation of Exodus made from the Greek by Bishop Paul of Tella, has ؟؟؟ ... ,[74] which is surprisingly near to the ordinary Peshitta number for that book, 3626.

I have not examined the text of the Samaritan manuscript under discussion, as the variants it might offer can be of use only to the extreme specialist. I have no doubt that it presents the usual ones, and it makes upon me the impression of being a good and faithful copy of the original scroll at Nāblus. But I cannot avoid the feeling that the glory is departing from this ancient community, whose members have become too

[73] *JQR*, ix. p. 479.

[73] The numbers are by no means certain in the mss. themselves. In most cases this is 4832 (codd. Bodl. i. ix; Brit. Mus. cod. clxxvi); but 4830 occurs (cod. Bodl. vii), 4802 (cod. Brit. Mus. clxxxix), 4803 (cod. Bodl. xvi — but without the ...), and 4833 (cod. Brit. Mus. ccili, late Nestorian; see, also, Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. 12). One of the last two enumerations must be looked for in the defective colophon of cod. Brit. Mus. clxxxvii. 4??3. In a Jacobite ms. at Cambridge (England) the number is given as 4832, but the note is added: ... (*Catalogue of the Syriac Mss. in the Cambridge University Library*, p. 1028. A similar note is added in a British Museum ms.; see the Catalogue of Rosen and Forshall, No. x). I do not know what to make of the number 1150 ... for the Psalms in the so-called "Buchanan Bible" (Jacobite ms. in Cambridge, *l.c.* p. 1037).

[74] Wright, *Catalogue*, i. p. 29.

strongly imbued with the modern commercial spirit. With this modernization the halo which has surrounded their heads must indeed vanish. Only a few of their ancient manuscripts can now remain. The son of their High Priest came running to me from Jerusalem to Jaffa in March, 1905, in a vain attempt to induce me to buy a manuscript Pentateuch. The reproduction of whatever mss. they may still possess has become a flourishing trade. A collection of such reproductions, largely ritualistic, can now be seen in the library of Columbia University. They show, in their outward aspect, how much deterioration there has been since the time when it was the pride of the scribe to do his work well. The modern copies are hastily made, done on poor paper and with poor ink — the very reverse of their forbears. In the year 1864 some one in Jerusalem had taught the Samaritans the process of lithography, and they published a copy of the Book of Exodus in this vicious style.[75] Happily, the undertaking seems not to have prospered. The specimen which we possess certainly does not justify the further use of so miserable a process.

[75] Its colophon reads: זאת . התורה . הקדושה . אשר · התפצית . מן . אש . ביכל . כתנה כהן . יון[סף] . בן . יה[תן] . כתב . אבר[הם] . ובחמ[לתו] . יה, Jerusalem, 1864. This enables us to identify its original with part of a codex mentioned by Rosen (*ZDMG*, xviii. p. 587) as having been acquired by Hofrath Levisohn. The note refers to the legend that the original was the volume thrown by Zerubbabel into the fire during a disputation with Sanballat before a Babylonian king. The following bill of sale is also copied:

אדה . ארהותה . קדישתה . אובנה . מתפציה . בר . מתוחיה . מן . אחיו .
בחמש . ועשרים . שקלים . בממונה . תחי . בריכה . עליו . ויחי . מלף . בה .
בנים . ובני . בנים . שנת . ו . אלפים . שנה . ח . מאות . שנה . וב . ון . שנה . לצאת .
בני . ישראל . ממצרים . וחי . שתנת . ד . וס . וה . מאון . למלכות . ישמעאל .

544 A.H. = 1149 A.C. Observe מאון for the usual מאות. שתנת is evidently a mistake for שנת and מלכות for ממלכות.

Notes from the Samaritan

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I. A Nineteenth Century Witness to the Pronunciation of YHWH

AMONG the various Hellenistic traditions of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, the Samaritan tradition has been preserved by Theodoret, who transliterates the pronunciation by Ἰαβε or Ἰαβαι.[1] From the Third Epistle of the Samaritans to Ludolf, 1689 A.D., it appears, in a passage that is unfortunately most obscure, that the Samaritans of that day still possessed the pronunciation of YHWH.[2] Also the constant use of YHWH in the liturgy shows that there was none of the fear of writing it which developed among the Jews. It is, however, always pronounced either *shema*, "the Name," or, in some cases, *elohim*.

But it has been almost entirely overlooked that there exists still later evidence for the Samaritan preservation of the true pronunciation. The French scholars who carried on a correspondence with the Samaritans in the first decades of the nineteenth century tried in vain to obtain a direct answer to their query concerning the pronunciation of the divine name, but in the Epistle addressed to de Sacy in 1820 the word appears, quite accidentally as it seems, spelt

[1] *Quaest. in Exod.* XV (ed. Migne, lxxx. 244): Ἰαβε; *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, v. 3 (Migne, lxxxiii. 460): Ἰαβαι.

[2] See de Sacy, "Epistola Samaritana tertia ad I. Ludolfum," in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur*, xiii (1783), p. 286, and the editor's note thereto. See further on this obscure passage Dietrich, in his correspondence with Delitzsch, in *ZATW*, iii. p. 286, who argues that the text represents the pronunciation as Yahû.

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and vocalized in Arabic characters as [illegible].[3] The passage, which I give below, is obscure, and de Sacy, who remarks, "Je copie exactement l'original, sans deviner ce que cela veut dire," makes no note of this full spelling of the Tetragrammaton. So far as I know the only scholar who has observed the value of this spelling is Bargès, in his *Les Samaritains de Naplouse*, 1855, pp. 62, 73.

This Arabic representation of the pronunciation thus gives the word either as *Yahwa* or *Yahwe*, the final *fetha* allowing either vowel in the last syllable. Now Kautzsch has argued[4] that the rhyming of YHWH in the Samaritan hymns proves that the pronunciation is *Yahwe*. This is indeed true of the two passages he cites from Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. pp. 25, 54, in both of which YHWH rhymes with words ending in *segol;* but in all the remaining cases of the rhyming of YHWH in the same collection of liturgical pieces, it rhymes with words terminating in *a*. So p. 48, top; p. 85, *bis;* p. 112; pp. 198–199, where YHWH occurs in the last line of nine successive quatrains all rhyming in *a*. Thus the final words of one of these quatrains are: צוֹמה, קיצמה, צוֹמה, יהוה. These instances thus contradict Kautzsch's conclusion. In any case Samaritan rhyme is too arbitrary for this argument to be conclusive. There are instances where in order to make a rhyme for the eye the writer has deliberately transposed consonants, and it seems from some cases that the poet is quite content to end in -מה or -וה, without regard to the exact color of the vowel. Further, if YHWH is in popular use only a cryptogram for the pronunciation *shema*, all this evidence has no value either way. It can only be said that the greater number of these instances favor the pronunciation Yahwa as against Yahwe.[5]

[3] De Sacy, "Correspondance des Samaritains," in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, xii (1831), p. 134, translation, p. 152.

[4] *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 223.

[5] But conclusive evidence on this question was given by Prof. N. Schmidt in the discussion of the present paper at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. He said that he had learned orally from

The Arabic text of the passage above referred to, which is in answer to the request of the Europeans that the Samaritans prove their priestly pedigree, is as follows: —

فقوى تعجبنا من هذه المسئلة بان لا يسال من هذه المسادل
سوى جماعتنا حتى يبقى عندهم التحية والحقيقة على الكوتة
يَهْوَه يعمره ويجمعهم فى خير امين

De Sacy translates: "Notre surprise a été d'autant plus grande qu'il n'y a que des gens de notre nation qui puissent faire une semblable demande . . . . . [several words left untranslated]. Que Jéhova leur accorde une longue vie, et les réunisse dans un état heureux! Amen." Bargès repeats de Sacy's translation as far as "demande," and then proceeds: "afin que le pontificat [reading الكهنوت] subsiste toujours parmi eux et se maintienne légitime. Que Jéhova," etc. The passage does not make much sense in respect to the context. It is to be noticed that the vocalized form of YHWH occurs in a popular formula of benediction.

II. The Root פרס, Amos 6[5]

This *hapax legomenon* of the Old Testament has been variously interpreted. The older Jewish scholars explained it as meaning 'to divide words,' hence 'to sing,' an interpretation which is adopted by our current English versions. In the Arabic, according to Abu'l Walid,[6] it may have the meaning 'to improvise.' Hence many modern interpreters interpret it *in malo sensu*, 'to sing idle songs,' 'phantasieren,' etc. But the occurrence of the word in a Samaritan Hebrew hymn contributes to its understanding. The verb is found in a hymn published by Heidenheim in his *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. No. ci. line 14, where the line containing the word reads: —

אל נתן לו תשבחן · אל נפרס לו כל שיראן · אל נרים לו הנבעת ·
אל נסי הנצחן:

the son of the Samaritan high priest, whom he had met in the preceding winter in Jerusalem, that the Samaritans pronounce the name either as Yahwa or Yahû.

[6] See Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*[14], s.v.

i.e. "God — let us give to him praise; God — let us sing to him all songs; God — let us raise to him shouts; God — let us lift to him pæans." The context shows that פרס is synonymous with verbs of singing, and in this simple sense the verb is doubtless to be understood in Amos. In v.[21] of the same hymn we find שיראן נפרש. Both verbs פרס and פרש doubtless mean to mark out the words of the song according to the time, just as the Jewish exegetes understood פרס.

III. מלמם in the Samaritan Targum to Gen. 1[1]

In the Samaritan Targum to Gen. 1[1] the Hebrew ברא is rendered, in many manuscripts, though not all, and in all printed editions, by מלמם. It does not occur again in the Targum, ברא being represented by several other roots. It is found in the Liturgy, Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. No. xcviii. stanza 1, line 3, and No. ci. line 15. The word has so far defied explanation. Kohn, agreeing with Petermann, at first connected it with the root צלם, but later gave up the problem as hopeless.[7] Nöldeke would explain it from the Arabic طلسم, derived from the Greek *τέλεσμα*[8]; but the idea of magic which this scholar finds in the word is utterly incongruous with the Samaritan theology.

I suggest that מלמם is simply a transliteration of the Greek *ἐθεμελίωσε*, which appears frequently in the LXX to denote the creative act; *e.g.* Ps. 101 (102)[26]: *κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν σύ, κύριε, ἐθεμελίωσας*; Prov. 3[19]. The introduction of so absurd a barbarism would then be due to the desire of an editor of the Targum to obtain a unique technical word for the primal act of creation; he took the Greek word bodily over from some well-known passage like those in the LXX, or, if we may believe in its existence, from the Samaritikon (the Samaritan Greek translation) to Gen. 1[1]. The metathesis between the *t* and *l* assumed by this theory often appears where

[7] Kohn, *Samaritanische Studien*, p. 99; "*Zur Sprache, Litteratur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner*," pp. 163, 192; "Zur neuesten Litteratur über die Samaritaner," *ZDMG*, xxxix. p. 204.

[8] In Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, vi. p. 209.

l is concerned in pure Semitic forms, and is common in cases of textual corruption. In the first of the liturgical passages referred to above the reading is אטולטם, where the א then transliterates the initial Greek *ε*. The intimate relation of the Samaritan Targum to the Alexandrine versions is well known; in the first chapter of Genesis in the former several Greek words have been taken over bodily. Further, the actual transliteration of a complete verbal form of the Greek has its analogy in Rabbinic literature; thus מולמיסין for *ἐτόλμησεν*, occurring several times in Rabbinic.[9]

IV. The "Little Ones" of the Gospels

In several of the sayings of Jesus a caution or precept is given with regard to "one of these little ones," Mt. 10^{42}, $18^{6.\,10.\,14}$; Mk. 9^{42}; Lk. 17^{2}. In Mt. 18 these logia are introduced by the symbolical action in which Jesus takes a little child and sets him in the midst as the text for his discourse. Hence, in this chapter at least, the most common interpretation has been to understand the "little ones" of children, as in the famous saying: "See that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you that their angels in heaven do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." But it has sometimes been held[10] that by this term are intended the unlearned, the *am-ha-aretz*, or "idiots," of Jewish society, although such a technical use of the word has not been instanced in Jewish literature. An instance of this technical use occurs in the Samaritan Liturgy.[11] The passage reads: וכן אשטט עדרי (=חדרי) עד לא יאמרו הוערים וה כלו שקרי והידועים ישמחו בו וידעו באיקרי(=עיקרי), *i.e.* "And thus I will set forth the mysteries, in order that the little ones may not say, This is all a lie, and that the learned may rejoice therein, and have knowledge of the principles." The word in the Samaritan is the same as that with which the Syriac translates the "little ones" of the Gospels. In this passage, then, "the little ones" are identical with the

[9] See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, *s.v.*

[10] Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, p. 166 f.

[11] Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. p. 92, bottom.

am-ha-aretz of Judaism. The contrast presented in this passage is almost verbally the same as that which Jesus makes in Mt. 11[25] between "wise and prudent" and "babes."[12]

V. Angels Attendant at the Sacrifices

Several times in the Samaritan Liturgy reference is made to the presence of the angels, including the cherubim, at the sacrifices; *e.g.* Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. p. 66, top; p. 116, line 28; p. 117, line 27. They touch, or kiss, the sacrifices, and appear in mystic vision to the worshippers, especially at the priestly blessing. The like thought is common in early Christian mysticism concerning the Eucharist, as, for instance, John Chrysostom, *De sacerdote*, vi. 4, where it is said that at the celebration of the Eucharist "angels stand about the priest," and that even the vision of them has sometimes been seen. As for the Samaritan idea, it is to be observed that Gerizim, where all sacrifices are performed, is regarded as the place blessed by the presence of the invisible hosts of heaven. It may be queried whether the Christian mystical notion has not a Jewish basis.

[12] Νήπιος is repeatedly used in the New Testament in a like semitechnical sense: Mt. 11[25]; Lk. 10[21]; Rom. 2[20]; 1 Cor. 3[1].

Note on Akkad

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Akkad (Hebr. אַכַּד; Greek versions: *αρχαδ*, *αχαδ*) is mentioned only once in the Old Testament, Gen. 10^{10}, as one of the four chief cities, Akkad, Babel, Erech, and Calneh, which constituted the nucleus of the "kingdom of Nimrod" in the land of Shinar, or Babylonia. This Biblical city, Akkad, was probably identical with the northern Babylonian city known to us as *Agade* (not *Agane*, as formerly read), which was the principal seat of the early Babylonian king Sargon I (*Šargani-šar-ali*). The date of this king is given by Nabonidus, the last Semitic king of Babylonia (555–537 B.C.), as 3800 B.C., but this is perhaps too high by 700 or 1000 years.[1] The probably non-semitic name *Agade* occurs in a number of inscriptions,[2] and is now well attested as the name of an important ancient capital. The later Assyro-Babylonian form *Akkadû* 'of or belonging to Akkad' is, in all likelihood, a Semitic loanform from the non-Semitic name *Agade*, and seems to be an additional demonstration of the identity of Agade and Akkad. The usual signs denoting *Akkadû* were , which in the non-Semitic Sumerian were read *uri-ki* or *ur-ki* 'city-land' or 'land of *the* city' *par excellence*, meaning the city of Agade of Sargon I, as this for a long period remained the leading city of Babylonia.[3] The sign , which is really a doubled BUR-sign,

[1] Prince, *Nabonidus*, p. v.

[2] In the Sargon inscriptions: *OBI*, i. pl. 1, no. 1, line 6; pl. 2, no. 2, line 5; pl. 3, no. 3, line 3 *b*. Also in *OBI*, xi. pl. 49, no. 119, Neb. col. ii. line 50 (Hilprecht, *Freibrief Neb.*), and *Cun. Texts from Bab. Tablets*, pl. 1, no. 91146, line 3.

[3] Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i. pp. 365, 373–374.

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seems to me to be a phonetic writing of *bur* 'water, river' (cf. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. 63), so that the signs really mean 'the land of the two rivers,' *i.e.*, of the Tigris and Euphrates, or perhaps of two important canals (?).

It is quite possible that the name *Agade* may consist of two Sumerian words *aga* 'crown' or 'headdress' and *de* 'fire,'[4] *i.e.*, *Aga-de* = 'crown of fire,' and this may be an allusion to Ištar 'the brilliant goddess,' the tutelary deity of the morning and evening star, and the goddess of war and love, for her cult was observed in very early times in Agade, a fact attested by Nabonidus.[5] His record mentions that the Ištar-worship of Agade was later superseded by that of the goddess Anunit, and Anunit was another personification of the Ištar-idea with a shrine at Sippar, which was practically identical with Agade.[6] Now there were two cities named Sippar, one under the protection of Šamaš, the sun-god, and one under this Anunit = Ištar, a fact which points strongly to the probable proximity, if not actual identity, of Sippar and Agade. It has been thought that Agade-Akkad was situated opposite Sippar on the left bank of the Euphrates, and even that Agade was possibly the oldest part of Sippar. The double character of Sippar seems significant in connection with the double writing of the BUR-sign to denote *Akkadû*.

In the Assyro-Babylonian literature, the name *Akkadû* appears as part of the royal title in connection with Sumer;

[4] Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, pp. 23, 73. That *aga* = MIR = 'crown, headdress' is well known. The Sem. *agû* 'crown' seems to be a loanword from this *aga*. It is important to note that we find the MIR-sign also = *agâgu* 'be angry,' which is an evident paronomasia on the original value *aga*. The BIL or NE-sign = 'fire,' and can also have the value *de*. This is clear from Prince, *op. cit.* 73. The Sumerian combination *de-tal* = Sem. *ṭiṭallu* 'torch, flame,' the latter word being not necessarily a loanword from *detal*, but possibly a paronomastic mnemonic association. *De-tal* in Sumerian can mean 'the flame (*de*) which glows' (*tal* = RI).

[5] *IR*, 69, ii. 48; iii. 28.

[6] Cf. W. H. Ward, *Hebraica*, 1886, 79–86.

viz., non-semitic: *lugal Kengi(ki) Uru(ki)* = *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadî* 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' which appears to have been equivalent simply to 'king of Babylonia.' It is not likely, as some scholars have thought, that Akkad was ever used geographically as a distinctive appellation for northern Babylonia, or that the name Sumer denoted the southern part of the land, for kings who ruled only over southern Babylonia used the double title 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' and it was also employed by northern rulers who never established their sway farther south than Nippur, notably the great Assyrian conqueror Tiglathpileser III (745–727 B.C.). Professor McCurdy[7] has very reasonably suggested that the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad' indicated merely a claim to the ancient territory and city of Akkad, together with certain additional territory, but not necessarily all Babylonia, as was formerly believed.

[7] *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. § 110.

A Part of the Gospel of Matthew from the Beirût Syriac Codex

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THE Syriac manuscript of the New Testament belonging to the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût and preserved in the library of Union Theological Seminary, New York, has long been known to exhibit in the Gospels a text decidedly different from the Peshitto.[1] Professor Isaac H. Hall, who was the first to draw attention to the manuscript and who has been the chief, if not the sole, worker upon it, early detected its kinship with the Harklensian. He maintained that it represented a revision earlier than White's Harklensian, and probably identical with the lost Philoxenian. The Philoxenian version, said to have been made in 508 A.D., is the only one among the five Syriac versions of which no gospel-manuscript has yet been identified, so that the claim put forth by Professor Hall for the Beirût Codex is an important one. Whether Professor Hall's impression of the character of the text is warranted, can only be determined by the examination of the text itself; hence the propriety of making at least a part of it accessible to students of the Syriac versions is obvious.

Professor Gwynn has recently assigned to the Philoxenian version the Syriac Apocalypse published by himself from a Crawford manuscript of the twelfth century, and the four epistles published by Pococke in 1630.[2] He characterizes

[1] Aside from the Gospels the text of the manuscript is Peshitto.

[2] John Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto Unknown*, 1897.

them as "a successful presentation of the Greek original in a Syriac version of adequate exactness, without sacrifice of idiomatic purity" (p. cv); and further says: "In strong contrast with it [the Harklensian Apocalypse], our version is seen to aim at accuracy in substance rather than in form; its diction, as regards grammar as well as vocabulary, to be vernacular Syriac of the best period; its manner to combine idiomatic freedom with truthful reproduction of the original" (p. xxxv). The Philoxenian version has not always been so understood; and, in any case, it is likely that in those parts for which Syriac forms already existed, in the Peshitto, it exhibited a treatment somewhat less free and untrammeled than in those parts, like the Apocalypse, of which it gave the first Syriac rendering. A different attitude toward these late versions has been assumed by Hugo Gressmann, who holds that in the Syriac Gospels published by White in 1778, we have neither the Philoxenian text, as White himself supposed, nor the Harklensian, as has been generally held of late years.[3]

Should the text of the Beirût codex, however, disappoint the claims of its discoverer, and prove to be but a Harklensian witness, its value will still be considerable. Professor Hort and Professor Gregory have both pointed out the need of further examination of manuscripts of the Harklensian version, in order to the better understanding and surer reconstruction of its text;[4] and to this, at all events, the publication of an extended section of the text of the Beirût manuscript may contribute. Ceriani, to whom Professor Hall submitted several leaves, found its text better than that published by White in 1778 and usually reckoned the standard Harklensian.[5] Indeed, it needs but a hasty inspection of the Gospels of the manuscript to disclose the marked resemblance of the text to the Harklensian.

[3] Hugo Gressman, "Studien zum syrischen Tetraevangelium. I." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, v. pp. 248–252.

[4] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. Introduction, p. 156; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. ii. p. 524.

[5] *JBL*, 1882, p. 4.

The manuscript was announced by Professor Hall, and the first account of it published, in 1877, in the London *Academy*, vol. ii. p. 170, and in the New York *Independent* of Aug. 23. A rather full description of the manuscript was presented by him to the American Oriental Society in October of the same year, and subsequently published in the Proceedings.[6] At that time a committee was appointed to consider the publication of the manuscript. Further notes upon it from Professor Hall appear in the Proceedings of 1879[7] and 1882.[8] His estimate of the worth of the text is set forth in his "Notes on the Beirût Syriac Codex," read before the Society of Biblical Literature in 1882.[9]

Scrivener, in his *Plain Introduction*,[10] appears to refer to a further publication of Professor Hall's upon the manuscript, "Syriac Manuscript Gospels of a Pre-Harklensian Version, Acts and Epistles of the Peshitto Version, . . . by the Monk John, . . . Described with phototyped Facsimiles by Professor Isaac H. Hall [viii–ix], ff. 219 + a fragment at end," etc., and from him the title seems to have been taken over into Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament;*[11] but Scrivener's reference here is only to certain prefatory pages which Professor Hall had printed to serve as description and introduction to the manuscript when bound, and of which he seems to have distributed a few copies.[12] The manuscript has not 219 foll. + a fragment, however, but 203, as the other published descriptions correctly state.[13]

[6] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. x. 1877, pp. cxlvi–cxlix. The reference to pp. xvi ff. given by Professor Hall in *JBL*, 1882, p. 1, and by Professor Gregory in *Prolegomena*, p. 829, and *Textkritik*, vol. ii. p. 524, is misleading.

[7] *JAOS*, vol. xi. p. vi.

[8] *Ibid.* vol. xi. p. cvii.

[9] Isaac H. Hall, "Notes on the Beirût Syriac Codex," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1882, pp. 1–26.

[10] Fourth (Edward Miller's) edition, 1894, vol. ii. p. 29.

[11] P. 100.

[12] Scrivener mentions one as sent to him, and there is a copy in the library of the Harvard Divinity School.

[13] The inaccuracies in Scrivener's references to the manuscript in his third

What is undertaken in the following pages is the publication of the text of a part of the manuscript large enough fairly to exhibit its quality and character — a thing which Professor Hall, with all his work upon it, does not seem to have done. The part selected is the first twenty pages of the Gospel of Matthew, as preserved in the manuscript (12^{20}–13^{28}, 13^{57}–17^{20}, and 19^{12}–22^{16}), and the text is exhibited, not indeed in facsimile, but in a line-for-line transcript, unaltered by editing or correction. Thus the pointing of the manuscript and the lectionary indications are reproduced in the published text. These lectionary notes, written in red in the manuscript, are here enclosed in half brackets [ ], and thus distinguished from the text proper. The manuscript has been fully described elsewhere.[14] It is only necessary to say here that it is a parchment codex of 203 leaves, measuring 18 by 26 cm. These leaves are gathered in quires of five, and inscribed in two columns. The manuscript is believed to come from Tur-abdin, and is assigned to the ninth century. It originally contained the Syriac New Testament; that is, it lacked the four disputed epistles and the Apocalypse. It is only in the Gospels, however, that its text differs from the Peshitto. It will be seen that a leaf is missing after fol. 2, and another after fol. 6.

The writer's especial thanks are due Mr. D. Stuart Dodge, of New York City, for kindly placing the manuscript in his hands for study and partial publication.

edition, 1883, pp. 327, 328, were observed by Professor Ezra Abbot, and have been pointed out by Professor J. H. Thayer in "Notes on Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Third Edition; chiefly from the memoranda of the late Ezra Abbot," *Andover Review*, vol. iii. 1885, Critical Appendix.

[14] Gregory, *loc. cit.*; Scrivener, *loc. cit.*

FOL. 1, RECTO. MATTHEW 12[20-34]

Fol. 1, verso. Matthew 12[25-42]

FOL. 2, RECTO. MATTHEW 12[46]–13[15]

Fol. 2, verso. Matthew 13[11-18]

Fol. 8, recto. Matthew 13[57]–14[16]

Fol. 3, verso. Matthew 14[15-22]

Fol. 4, recto. Matthew 14[36]–15[14]

Fol. 4, verso. Matthew 15[14-20]

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲕⲣⲱⲙⲓ

Fol. 5, verso. Matthew 16$^{7-21}$

Fol. 6, recto. Matthew 16[21]–17[6]

Fol. 6, verso. Matthew 17[9-19]

FOL. 7, RECTO. MATTHEW 10[13-25]

Fol. 7, verso. Matthew 19[28]-20[9]

Fol. 8, recto. Matthew 20[24-28]

FOL. 8, VERSO. MATTHEW 20[28]-21[9]

FOL. 9, RECTO. MATTHEW 21[8-19]

Fol. 9, verso. Matthew 21[19-20]

Fol. 10, recto. Matthew 21[30-45]

Fol. 10, verso. Matthew 21[46]–22[16]

The Ruins in Wâdî Suweil

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WÂDÎ SUWEIL (وادي سويل), on the east side of the Dead Sea, is not found on any map, and the ruins at its mouth have not been described by any traveller. No earlier explorer seems to have gone to the exact part of the coast where it enters the Dead Sea, although several have visited the neighboring mountains, the peninsula, and the mouth of the Môjib.

On the 23d of January, 1807, Ulrich Jasper Seetzen came down to the sea from the mountains at the mouth of Wâdî Kerak (وادي كرك).[1] According to his description, this *wâdî* pours a part of its water into the northern gulf, while another part is led through several canals to the village of El Mezra'ah (المزرعة). Four days later, on his return from the southern end of the lake, he descended to the shore just below the Môjib.[2] He had, therefore, no opportunity to examine the coast between the peninsula and the Arnon.

J. L. Burckhardt was not able to go down to the Dead Sea from Kerak, but he spent three weeks in this place, from the 14th of July to the 4th of August, 1812, and gathered some items of information concerning the coast from people who used to go to Ghor el Mezra'ah (غور المزرعة) to buy tobacco. "About the middle of the lake," he says, "on the same eastern shore, are some ruins of an ancient city, called Towahein el Sukkar (طواحين السكر), *i.e.* the Sugar Mills. Farther

[1] *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, ii. 1854, p. 350.

[2] *Reisen*, ii. p. 364.

north the mountains run down to the lake, and a steep cliff overhangs the sea for about an hour, shutting out all passage along the shore."[3]

Charles L. Irby and James Mangles came from the Ghor el Ṣafiyeh (غور الصفيه) to the peninsula on the 10th of May, 1818, but at once ascended to the upper course of the Derâ' (ال ذراع) and Kerak. On the 1st of June they went down to the Ghor el Mezra'ah from Kerak, spent the night in the village of El Mezra'ah, went southwest the following morning, apparently as far as to the neighborhood of Cape Molyneux, and returned towards noon to Kerak.[4]

On the 4th of September, 1847, Lieutenant Molyneux went in his boat within less than five miles of the peninsula. He then deemed it necessary to return, and observed, in passing, the peculiar hills and terraces about Râs el Ṭafileh (راس الطفيلة). "The eastern hills about Râs el Ṭafileh," he remarks, "abreast of which we were drifting, are peculiar, the different strata being distinctly marked."[5] Molyneux mentions "three remarkable points of land projecting from the eastern shore into the Dead Sea — Râs el Belḳah, Râs el Ṭafileh, and Râs el Kerah."[6]

Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, on the 30th of April, 1848, started from 'Ain Jidi at 12.15 P.M., reached Cape Costigan at 4.10 P.M., steered S.S.E. and landed one mile and a half north of El Mezra'ah. On the 1st of May he sent Dale and Aulick to sketch the shore, to verify the position of the mouth of Wâdî Kerak, and to sound down the middle of the bay. A comparison between Lynch's map and the photograph from Jebel Jerrah accompanying this article will show how unsafe it is to rely upon such sketches of the shore. The line of soundings seems to show that the boat did not go near the eastern coast, and the Seil Ḥadîtheh appears to have been mistaken for Wâdî Benî Ḥammîdeh, which, according to Lieutenant Lynch, waters the Mezra'ah. On

[3] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, p. 391.
[4] *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and the Holy Land*, 1845, pp. 137 ff.
[5] *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, xviii. 1848, p. 128.
[6] *Journal*, p. 129.

that day Lynch visited the ruins of "Zoar" (Ḫurbet Abd el Raḥim), and on the next he ascended to Kerak by Wâdî Benî Ḥammîdeh (?) and Wâdî Kerak. Returning on the 3d, he started at 1.55 P.M in his boat toward Wâdî el Môjib, which he reached at 5.25 P.M. He did not stop anywhere to examine the coast, and records no feature except an arch spanning the chasm of a ravine, which he passed at 4.45 P.M.[7]

Félicien de Saulcy, on the 14th of January, 1851, at 2.15 P.M., arrived from the south at Wâdî el 'Aṣal (وادي العصل). At 2.47 P.M. he was at the entrance of Wâdî Kathrabba (وادي كثرعبه, "*wâdî* of the multitude of trees"?). Ascending the next morning, with Wâdî el 'Aṣal to the right, he reached Jebel el Ḫarazeh (جبل الخرزه) after an hour's climb. Half an hour later he arrived at the immense rock from which issues Wâdî el Kerak, also called Wâdî el Derâ', and at the foot of the rock he found the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar (طواحين السكر), or Sugar Mills. From this point to the hills in the west he estimated the distance at five or six kilometres. The intervening plain was called Ghor el Mezra'ah. Besides the main stream, called Nahr el Derâ', he crossed six other streams before arriving at the village of El Mezra'ah. On the 16th of June he left at 8.06 A.M., crossed a ravine at 8.25, visited Ḫurbet Abd el Raḥim, and at 8.46 reached Seil Wâdî Benî Ḥammîdeh. Ten minutes later he was at Wâdî Jerrah ("Djerrah ou Adjerrah"), and had to his right, as he ascended, the plain of Ḥaditheh ("El Hadits"). On the 17th he found, west of Jebel Šiḥân, Wâdî el Šeḳiḳ (وادي الشقيق), and on the 21st he again crossed Wâdî el Derâ', going to Ghor el Ṣafiyeh.[8]

The Duc de Luynes and his companions left Jebel Usdum for the peninsula on the 24th of March, 1864, and arrived there on the 25th. The following morning they rode to Nahr el Derâ', but not to the village, then ascended the mountains, after an hour passed, on the left, Wâdî el Ḫarazeh,

[7] *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, 1849, pp. 335–367.

[8] *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les terres bibliques*, i. 1853, pp. 289–309.

explained as "the *wâdî* of the Pearl," and finally reached Kerak. He returned on the 28th, lost the 29th in an attempt to sail around Cape Molyneux, and was not able until late in the night to use a favorable wind which brought him past Cape Costigan and to the mouth of the Môjib early in the morning of the 30th. It was, of course, impossible to make any observations of the eastern coast.[9]

Towards the end of April, 1870, E. H. Palmer and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake walked up from Ghor el Ṣafiyeh to the peninsula. They noticed the shrines of Abu Ketaineh and Nebi Salah, and pitched their tents in the village. The next morning they made a tour of the northern end of the peninsula, finding some ruins and the depression called 'Arîl (عريل), in which water collected in the rainy season. They then passed the ruined fort called Tell 'Abd el Raḥim, and crossing the Seil Ḥaditheh ascended the Naḳb Jerrah into the mountains.[10]

On the 24th of April, 1874, H. Rothe, with three companions of the Benî Ḥammîdeh, climbed up the mountains from the mouth of the Wâdî el Môjib, starting at 6 A.M., and reaching the top of the wall at 7 A.M. After two hours of march he descended again to the sea, where he found a petroleum spring ten feet from the shore, and near it a spring of cool and sweetish water. Ascending again, he found the needle of rock forty feet tall, called Bint Šeiḫ Lûṭ. After another hour's march he reached a plain jutting out into the sea, and evidently passed it in fifty minutes on the heights above. Beyond this plain he followed the coast for forty-five minutes until opposite Cape Costigan. Two hours and a half before reaching the first Bedawin camp of El Mezra'ah he mentions a *wâdî*, called Wâdî 'Iškiḳ. The entire walk had taken nine hours, but there had been much ascending and descending the mountains. It is quite impossible that Rothe could have passed the ruins and aqueduct at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil without being

[9] *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte, à Petra, et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, 1874, pp. 94 ff., 114.

[10] *The Desert of the Exodus*, ii. 1871, pp. 466 ff.

attracted by them. He must have passed by this place on the mountains above. When he met Dr. Kersten on the 25th he reported that he had often been "ausser Sicht des Todten Meeres." On the following day Kersten and Rothe went in two hours as far as Cape Costigan. They continued on the 27th to Ghor el Ṣafiyeh.[11]

Sir Gray Hill, on the 6th of April, 1895, "camped at El Mezra'ah, near to the stream which courses down the Wady el Deraah," "crossed the Lisan and descended to the water's edge," and then rode down to Ghor el Ṣafiyeh.[12]

In September, 1895, Mr. Alexander Hornstein and Mr. A. Ford went, in the government boat which was then running between the northern end of the lake and the peninsula, to Ghor el Mezra'ah. Starting at 6 P.M., they landed on the peninsula at 1 A.M. The darkness of the night was somewhat relieved by moonlight. They immediately proceeded to Kerak.[13]

It is evident that, aside from Mr. Rothe, none of these travellers have had a chance to examine at close range the eastern coast between the Môjib and the Wâdî Benî Hammîdeh, and that he came down to the shore some distance below the Wâdî Suweil.

In the course of our circumnavigation of the Dead Sea, my students and I left the delta of the Môjib on the 23d of February, 1905, at 1.10 P.M. We passed the natural bridge across a chasm mentioned by Lynch, at 1.34. At 1.56 we saw an impressive rock-needle on a hill above the rocks, and supposed it to be the Bint Šeiḫ Lûṭ (بنت شيخ لوط) discovered by Palmer and seen by Rothe, though the semblance of a woman was far more marked in the case of a figure observed south of Râs el Ṭafileh, at 3.17. At 2.25 we photographed the most striking feature of the coast between the Môjib and the peninsula. It is a promontory which stretches out as vertical as a wall for a mile from the moun-

[11] Otto Kersten, "Umwanderung des Todten Meeres," in *Zeitschrift des Palaestina-Vereins*, 1879, pp. 212 f. and *Anhang*, p. 223.

[12] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1896, pp. 24–46.

[13] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 94 ff.

tain, with top almost perfectly level and a long beach fronting it on the northern side. This I take to be the Râs el Ṭafileh of Molyneux, the Râs el Belḳah being north of the Môjib, and Râs el Kerah probably a mispronunciation for Râs el Kerak, and meant to indicate what Lynch called Cape Costigan. The name Râs el Ṭafileh seems to have been derived from that of the tribe, which once apparently extended their influence further north than at present.[14]

At 2.38 we were opposite the *wâdî* which comes down just north of this promontory, and which, following the map, we then supposed to be Wâdî Jerrah. I now believe that it is Wâdî el Šeḳiḳ (وادي الشقيق). This *wâdî* seems to be connected with the 'Ain Sgek mentioned by Seetzen south of the Arnon. De Saulcy[15] found the name used of a *wâdî* running north for some distance, to the west of Jebel Šiḥân, and then turning west. De Luynes,[16] recognizing the accuracy of De Saulcy's description, found no reason to doubt that the name of this *wâdî* was also correctly given.

When I visited Jebel Šiḥân on the 13th of July, 1905, I was distinctly told by the Benî Ḥammîdeh that this Wâdî el Šeḳiḳ turned to the west just north of Jebel Šîḥân and debouched in the Dead Sea a considerable distance north of Wâdî Jerrah, and that immediately north of it Wâdî el Bediyeh flowed into the Môjib. The name means "the riven wâdî," and this characterizes its appearance both in its upper course and at its mouth. "Wâdî 'Iš̱ḳiḳ" (should be 'Iš̱ḳiḳ) in Rothe's itinerary[17] is one hour south of the hills about Râs el Ṭafileh. The name may be a conjecture of a guide not familiar with the coast, as no other names are given in the itinerary. At 2.47 the mouth of this *wâdî* was photographed.

The promontory proved to be a broad terrace with perfectly level top but broken up near the water by many cuts through which the water evidently comes down after rains.

[14] De Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration*, p. 109.
[15] *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, i. pp. 323, 324 ff.
[16] *Voyage d'exploration*, p. 170.
[17] *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1879, p. 223.

A wide beach ran all along the foot of the terrace, large black basalt stones were seen on the shore, and the slopes of the lower hills were covered with brushwood. After a quarter of an hour from Wâdî el Šeḳîḳ we reached the end of the low hills, where the beach continued, forming a plain covered with brushwood. At 3.17 we were opposite another *wâdî* which came down in a northerly direction and turned suddenly to the southwest. Here the figure of a woman, referred to above, was seen on the northern side on a high hill. At 3.52 Jebel Jerrah was seen, and at 4.11 we landed on a broad beach in front of a *wâdî*. If it runs far enough back, this may be the Wâdî Emdebêa mentioned by de Saulcy[18] as going directly west to the coast from a point below Jebel Šiḥân. I heard Madbeah (مدبح; cf. Μαδβαχός).

Here we were detained by a storm until the 26th, and used the opportunity to explore the neighborhood. From the top of Jebel Jerrah photographs of the coast down to the peninsula and of Cape Costigan (Râs el Kerak) were taken by Messrs. Wrench and Charles. On the 26th I went down the coast, accompanied by Mr. Olmstead and Mr. Charles, Mr. Wrench remaining to guard the boat. We left at 10.51 A.M., crossed several small *wâdîs* at 10.54, 11.01, 11.06, and 11.09, and at 11.12 came to a promontory of great height where there was no passage along the shore, the cliffs overhanging the sea. Between the ends of the promontory there were three deep ravines. The *wâdî* at the southern end had a high stone at its mouth. At 11.40 we came to a great *wâdî* with two arms, enclosing a delta half a mile long. Here were large trees, tamarisks, and brushwood. Beyond the second arm the level was fifteen feet higher, and the sides were undercut by the stream. There was no water here, but at 11.45 we found a large pool in the delta. At 12.07 we reached the beginning of another delta, three-quarters of a mile long. At 12.15 we arrived at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil, and made the interesting discovery of an ancient aqueduct and the ruins of some houses.

I learned the name of this *wâdî* on my second visit to the

[18] *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, i. pp. 326, 332, 334.

place five months later. Suweil (سويل) is a diminutive of Seil (سيل) and characterizes the river as the *wâdî* of "the small stream." The name is appropriate, for when we ascended the *wâdî* as far as it was possible to go, we found a small stream trickling down from a circular basin twelve feet above, which was filled with sweet water. There was apparently no change in the amount of water in July. In the chasm there were no ruins, but a short distance from the entrance were the remains of an ancient aqueduct.

The length of this aqueduct was 160 feet, its width 2 feet 2 inches, its height 5 feet 6 inches. It rested on round arches. Three of these remained, and were 3 feet in height and 8 feet 3 inches wide at the bottom. The covered trough was 9 inches wide, and 7½ inches deep. While the arches were of large sandstones and the aqueduct itself evidently built of sandstone, the channel had been filled up with limestone deposit, and much of the structure was covered with the same limestone. On the top the coating was 2 inches deep, and all along the centre ran a little channel from 1½ to 2 inches deep, down which the water found its way after the trough had been filled up. The course of the aqueduct could be followed by the *débris* for 270 feet to the west, where there was a high wall 6 feet above the river bed, near the top of which could be seen 25 feet more of the trough. Fifty feet farther west it was visible again, curving off to the north, with another branch going south to the ruins of a large building.

Nearer the sea we found the ruins of a house, 70 feet long and 50 feet wide. At the south entrance two well-cut door jambs and a number of hewn stones were seen. I found a piece of ribbed pottery here. Southwest of this ruin were the foundations of another building, 78 feet by 72 feet, and nearer the sea, but 30 feet above it, the remains of two other buildings.

The appearance of one of the Ghawarineh and the sight of a camp beyond, not noticed in the excitement of discovery, led us to return hastily to the boat. We set out that night for the western shore, which we reached after eight hours of

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battling with a fierce northwesterly wind and billows heavy as lead.

In the middle of July, coming to Kerak from Arabia Petræa, I decided, in spite of the excessive heat, to descend to the peninsula and to explore the coast from there to the place where the aqueduct was discovered. Accompanied by Mr. Wrench and Mr. John Whiting, I left Kerak on the 12th of July at 2 P.M. At 2.30 we reached 'Ain Sârah (عين سارة), a beautiful spring issuing from a rock; at 3.30 Wâdî Sakkarah (وادي سكرة) was seen to enter Wâdî Kerak. For two hours the road was so level that it was possible to gallop along and make good speed. We came to Jebel el Ḥarazeh (جبل الحرزة), "the Mountain of the Pearl," at 5 P.M. At 6 P.M. we were told that El Derâ', which comes from the southeast and carries water into the Seil el Kerak, was at a short distance to the north, and at 6.30 we arrived at the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar (طواحين السكر). A mountain which we photographed the next morning stretches between the village and El Derâ', which issues from the high rock near the "Sugar Mills." We arrived at El Mezra'ah at 7.30 and spent the night there, being very courteously received by the Ghawarineh. The village consists of about fifty tents and probably has about two hundred inhabitants.

The next morning Mr. Wrench went back to the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar to photograph it and to take its bearings. Sebbeh (Masâda) bore 290½°, 'Ain Jidi 331½°; it is consequently located in 35° 30′ 56″ E. longitude, and 31° 14′ 35″ N. latitude.

We left El Mezra'ah at 5.30 A.M., and crossed some smaller creeks and the wider stream of Seil Ḥaditheh (سيل حديثة). This stream seems to come from the Wâdî Kerak, flowing northwest from a point above the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar. The other streams on the peninsula come from the "Sugar Mills." The reason the river in its lower course is sometimes called Wâdî el Derâ', sometimes Wâdî Kerak, is that the Wâdî Kerak is not a perennial stream above the

place where it receives the water of El Derâ'. Soon after crossing the Seil Ḥaditheh, we came to the village of Ḥaditheh. This consists of a number of mud houses like those of Jericho, and seems to be of recent origin, as it has not been mentioned by any previous explorer. It is not inhabited in the summer. This village bears Sebbeh 281½°, 'Ain Jidi 327°. Its exact location, therefore, is 35° 30′ 44″ E. and 31° 17′ 18″ N. We left at 6.05.

Five minutes after leaving El Ḥaditheh we arrived at Wâdî Benî Ḥammîdeh (وادي بني حميدة), and ten minutes later crossed Wâdî Jerrah (وادي جرّة). The first important *wâdî* north of this was Wâdî Sebaieh (وادي سبيه), which was crossed about fifteen minutes after leaving Wâdî Jerrah. At 6.40 we found the first section of an ancient Roman road. It was broken off suddenly, the sea having apparently scooped out a bay, beyond which a second section of the road could be followed for a distance until it again disappeared owing to the action of the sea. A third section led up to the ruins at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil. These were no doubt remains of the Darb el Lisân (درب اللسان), said to have extended in earlier times from the north, across the peninsula, to the southern bay.[19]

At 7.15 I arrived for the second time at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil. This bore Sebbeh 266½°, 'Ain Jidi 391¼,° and is consequently situated in 35° 30′ 44″ E. longitude, and 31° 19′ 37″ N. latitude. On my first visit I had been satisfied with identifying the aqueduct with the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar mentioned to Burckhardt by the people of Kerak. There could be little doubt about this. I did not dare to assign to the ruins a higher age than the period of the Crusades. There were various centres of the sugar industry near the Dead Sea in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, among which were the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar near Jericho, those in the Ghor el Ṣafiyeh, on the peninsula, and at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil, and there seem to have been still others. Coming back from my second expedition to Arabia Petræa, where

[19] F. de Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, i. 1853, p. 291.

there had been ample opportunities for the study of the architecture and types of pottery characteristic of the Roman period, I could not resist the impression that the aqueduct was built in Roman times, and that the foundations of the houses belonged to the same age. The arches were built exactly in the same manner as those I had seen in numerous Byzantine city ruins. The plan of the houses and the shape of the door-jambs reminded me of some places recently visited; and the piece of pottery was of the same type as those I had picked up at the Ḫurbet Nuṣrâni. The earlier name of this "Christian ruin" was not known to the Bedawin squatting near the ancient city which we had discovered only three days before between Ḍana and Buṣerah in a position commanding a view of the Dead Sea.[20]

The aqueduct was probably built to supply the little community with water, as branches were led to the different buildings. It may be conjectured that a *castellum* once stood here for the defence of the road. It is not probable that this "ancient city," as the people of Kerak called it, was the objective point of the Roman road. North of Wâdî Suweil, however, as Burckhardt says, "the mountains run down to the lake, and a steep cliff overhangs the sea." This statement made almost one hundred years ago is true, as I found it on my first visit. But as the Roman road south of Wâdî Suweil has manifestly been in part destroyed by the invasion of the sea, so it is possible that this road once ran in front of the cliff which to-day, as well as in Burckhardt's time, "shuts out all passage along the shore."

In establishing their sugar mills around the Dead Sea, the Crusaders naturally availed themselves of such aqueducts. There must once have been an abundance of water in Wâdî Suweil, but except for the small quantity of water that trickles down from the basin, the lower part of the *wâdî* seems at present to be dry both in winter and in summer. What is the cause of the change? The heavy limestone coating suggests the answer. It is a well-known fact that a river may

[20] Schmidt, *Report of the Director of the American School of Archæology in Palestine*, 1904–1905, pp. 37 ff.

by its deposits of lime create barriers preventing its progress in the accustomed direction and changing the course.[21] That is apparently what has happened here. The ruined locality is called Abu'l Felûs by the natives of the peninsula, and the name, here as elsewhere, indicates a belief that treasures are hidden in the place.

From Wâdî Suweil we returned to Wâdî Benî Ḥammîdeh, ascended this *wâdî* some distance, then turned up the side of Wâdî Jerrah, and slept in the village of the Benî Ḥammîdeh at Jebel Šîḥân on the night of the 13th of July.

The southern part of the peninsula was seen by us on the 28th of February, and three photographs were taken representing the northeastern corner of the bay, the peculiar rocks halfway between this point and the cape, and Cape Molyneux itself from E.S.E. At 2.15 P.M. we saw the finest sample of the famous white line, with a remarkable haze above it toward the west. It ran due east and west. This disposes of the brilliant generalization of Blanckenhorn in 1896[22] from one fact observed by Molyneux in 1847.[23] This impressive belt of foam cannot be an indication of the existence at the present time of a fault at the bottom of the lake, running north and south. Gautier's observation in March, 1889,[24] is not even sufficient to show a preference for this direction. Not only south of the peninsula, but also north of it, we once saw the line lying athwart the sea as well as in other directions, though it was never so extensive and finely cut as on this last occasion. The wind bloweth where it listeth on the Dead Sea, and the foam forms into belts regardless of geological theories. That night we slept on the peninsula just north of the cape. Burckhardt's Arabs had assured him that there was a ford three hours north of Ṣafiyeh by which the lake could be crossed in three hours and a half, that "there are spots in this ford

[21] Cf. Élisée Reclus, *La terre: Description des phénomènes de la vie du globe*,[3] 1870, pp. 460, 476 ff.

[22] *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1896, p. 59.

[23] *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, xviii. 1848, p. 129.

[24] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, article '*The Dead Sea*,' col. 1046.

where the water is quite hot, and where the bottom is of red earth," that "the ford is nowhere deeper than three or four feet," and generally only two feet, and that "the water is so impregnated with salt that the skin of the legs of those who wade across it soon afterward peels entirely off."[25] This ford must, of course, have been between Cape Molyneux and the nearest point on the opposite side. As we were forced to jump into the water to drag the boat ashore, we had an opportunity of verifying the statements made to Burckhardt, and although we found the water hot, and the bottom slippery and of a reddish tint, neither here nor anywhere else on the lake did we observe any oil. Lynch does not seem to have made his soundings where the ford once was. Though our feet were bare and for days were exposed to the water in the lake and in the leaky boat, our shoes having shrunk too much to be used, the skin was never badly affected; and, on the whole, our experience confirmed the statement of some fishermen at the mouth of the Jordan that "the water of the Dead Sea is good for the body, but bad for one's clothes."

In the present article I have avoided the use of the term "Lisân" for the peninsula, for the reason that some notes taken while I was there last July have raised a doubt in my mind in reference to the name. De Saulcy appears to have been the first to use it. He maintains that the peninsula has to-day the same name that it bore in Hebrew antiquity, and finds the evidence that it was then called הלשון in Josh. $15^{2.5}$ and 18^{19}. He regards the boundary line of Judah as running from a point on the western shore just opposite the peninsula.[26] Even de Luynes, who, on the authority of de Saulcy, accepts El Lisân as the modern name of the peninsula, is unable to adopt this explanation of לשון ים המלח in the passages in Joshua;[27] and all exegetes are agreed that הַלָּשׁוֹן 15^{2} refers to the southern bay, *i.e.* the southern end of the lake (cf. Num. 34^{3}), while לשון הים 15^{5} and לשון ים המלח 18^{19} refer to the northern bay, the northern end of the lake.

[25] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, p. 394.
[26] *Voyage*, i. 1853, p. 289 ff.
[27] *Voyage d'exploration*, 1874, p. 90.

But de Saulcy's statement that the peninsula is now called El Lisân has not been questioned; and it does not seem to have been noticed that careful observers like Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Lynch, Palmer, and Drake have not used the term. The similarity to a tongue struck de Luynes; and the custom of denoting such a projecting slip of land a "Landzunge," or "tongue of land," naturally led German and English scholars to accept the name. On the peninsula, however, I was told that "this," the peninsula, was called Ghor el Mezra'ah, and "that," the southern bay, Lisân el Bahr. The term لسان is never used in Arabic for a tongue of land. At least I am not aware of any passage in Arabic literature where لسان البحر is used of a peninsula, and can find no evidence that it is so used in any modern dialect. It always signifies a bay; and لسان البحر is consequently an accurate translation of לשון הים.

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FIG. 1.—RÂS EL ṬAFÎLEH FROM THE NORTH

FIG. 2. — WÂDÎ EL ŠEḲIḲ AND JEBEL JERRAH

FIG. 3.—THE PENINSULA FROM JEBEL JERRAH

FIG. 4. — AQUEDUCT IN WÂDÎ SUWEIL

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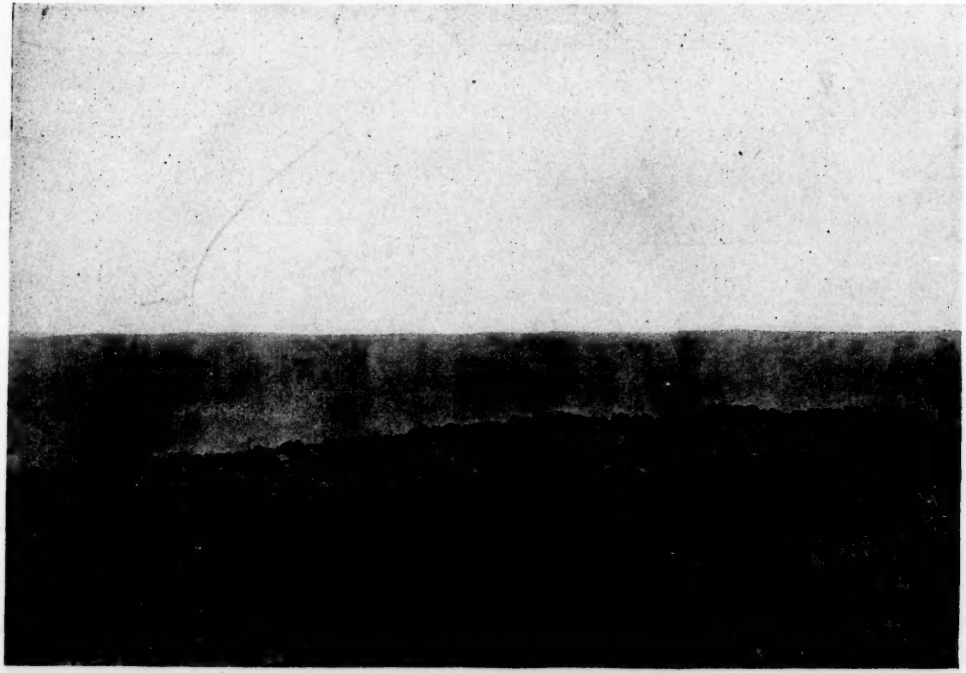

FIG. 5. — ABU'L FELÛS IN WÂDÎ SUWEIL

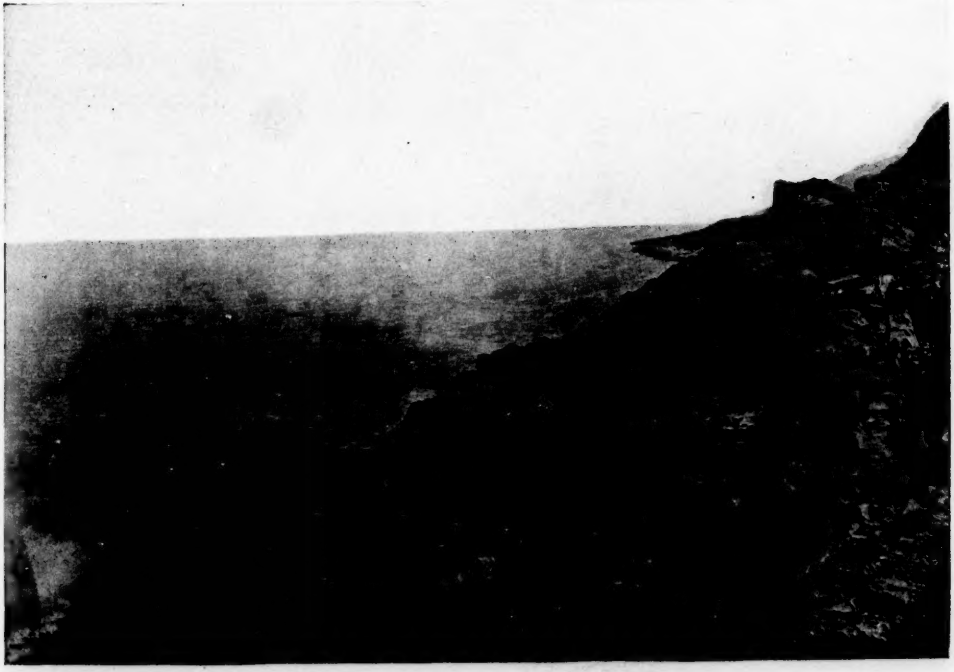

FIG. 6. — ROMAN ROAD SOUTH OF WÂDÎ SUWEIL

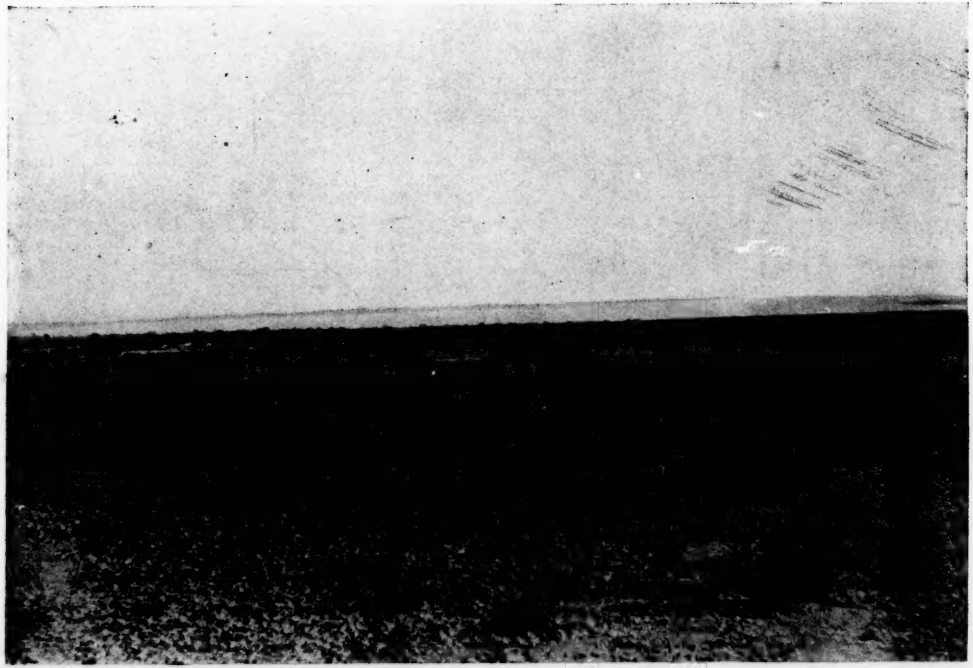

FIG. 7. — THE VILLAGE OF EL MEZRA'AH

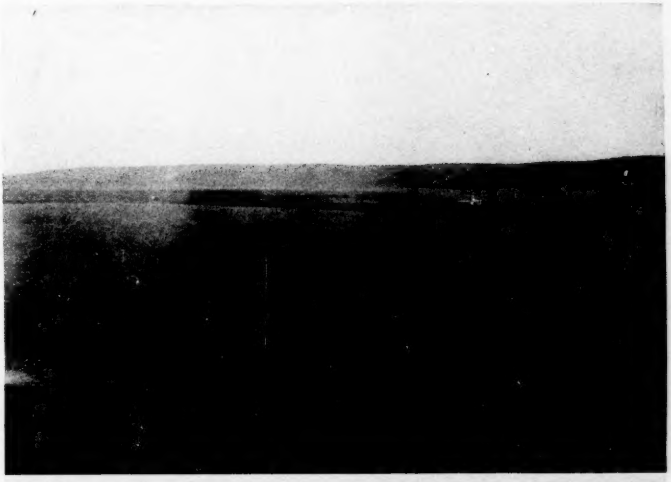

FIG. 8. — CAPE COSTIGAN (RÂS EL KERAK) FROM JEBEL JERRAH

FIG. 9. — MOUNTAIN BETWEEN ṬAWÂḤIN EL SUKKAR AND EL MEZRA'AH

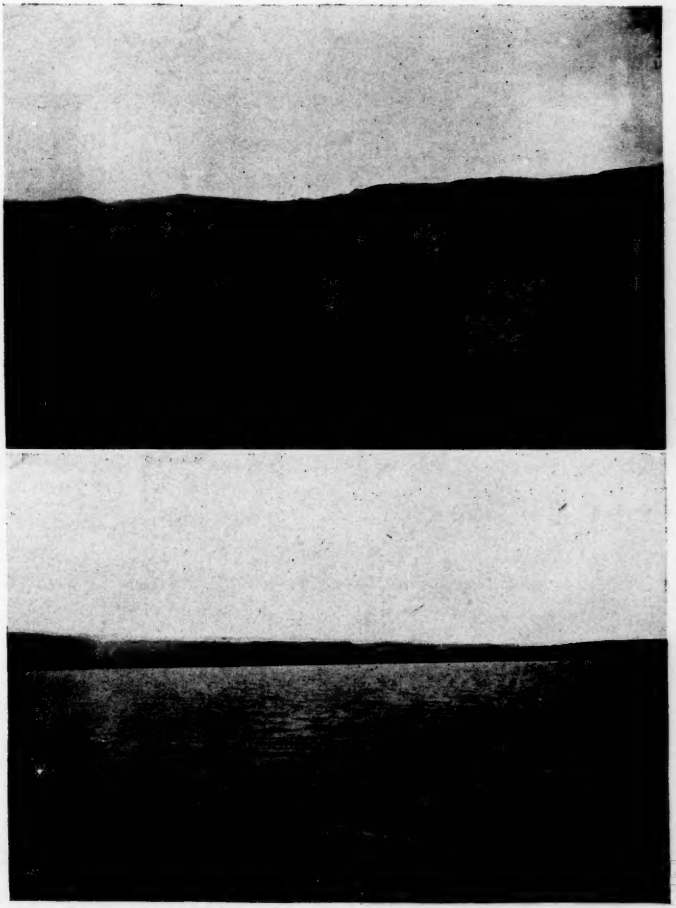

FIG. 10. — WÂDÎ EL 'AṢAL AND NECK OF THE PENINSULA FROM THE SOUTH

FIG. 11. — CAPE MOLYNEUX FROM THE EAST-SOUTH-EAST

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The Sayings of Jesus about the First and the Last

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THERE are attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels various sayings about the first and the last which fall into two groups, one having an eschatological and the other an ethical meaning. The eschatological saying, "The first shall be last and the last first," means that there will be a reversal of lot in the world to come, a humbling of the high and an exaltation of the low. The ethical saying, "If any one wishes to be first, let him be last of all and servant of all," means that true greatness consists in self-renunciation and ministering love. It points out a path to primacy which leads in the opposite direction to that which men naturally take. Indeed, it so defines the way in which ambition is to reach its goal as in effect to oppose the spirit of ambition. Although there is obviously a wide difference between the two sayings, one of which deals with outward conditions, the other with the inner motive and spirit, nevertheless one form of words may possibly express either meaning. "If any one wishes to be first, he shall be last of all and servant of all" (Mk. 9 35); that is, either as a punishment for his wish, or as the way in which he may gratify his wish, according as one takes ἔσται in the future or in the impera-

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tive sense. In one case we have a simple prediction, in the other a rather subtle paradox, which, under the form of instruction as to how one may best assert himself, in reality aims to uproot the spirit of self-assertion. It is the aim of this paper to show that Jesus probably did not utter the prediction, but only the paradox.

The prediction is a good expression of a hope widely current among the Jews of Christ's time. The paradox contains that which was perhaps newest and most distinctive in Christ's view of the world. If Jesus uttered only one of the two sayings, it must have been the paradox. But may he not have uttered the prediction as well? The two are not entirely inconsistent with each other, but there is a presumption against his having expressed two such different ideas in proverbial forms so nearly identical. There is also a fair presumption against his having expressed his belief in future recompense in the form of this gnome, which might claim to be an even better motto for the apocalyptical literature of Judaism than Gunkel's Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα (Barn. 6 13), or Bousset's *Non fecit altissimus unum sæculum sed duo* (4 Ezra 7 50). We have not, so far as I know, in Jewish writings any occurrence of the exact sentence, "The first shall be last and the last first"; but the familiar Old Testament phrase about the future humbling of the proud and exaltation of the lowly frequently recurs as an expression of the hope that in the Day of Yahweh the dominating heathen power, or the heathen-minded Jewish party, would be overthrown, and that Israel, the subject people, or the righteous kernel of Israel, now oppressed, would be exalted to glory and dominion. In the sense in which the saying embodied national or sectarian pride and ambition, Jesus could not have uttered it. Nor should we expect him to describe the results of the Day of Judgment simply as a reversal of the outward fortunes and ranks of men. It is true, however, that Jesus looked forward to the humbling of those whose present exaltation was due to pride and selfishness, and to the future blessedness of those whose lowly lives were the cause or the effect of lowly

minds and self-denying service. The thought that the worldly and self-centered rich would be poor in the world to come, and the righteous poor rich, or that the publican and sinner would precede the Pharisee in the kingdom of God, he might have expressed by the words, "Many first shall be last and the last first." The question is one of evidence, not of presupposition. If it is even now true that those who are first in self-assertion and the desire to dominate are really last, and that those who seem to be last because they are servants of all are really first, then the future world must bring this reality to evidence. God's present reversal of human judgments will be vindicated by his future reversal of those human conditions on which false judgments rest. Yet in spite of this relation of the two sayings to each other, a difference remains, and must show itself in the temper and conduct of men, between the hope or the fear that present fortunes are to be reversed, and the conviction that those are really first in God's sight in whom the desire to be first has been overmastered by the spirit of love.

The following table presents the passages in the Synoptic Gospels in the order in which they will be discussed: —

Mark	Matthew	Luke
10 43-44	20 26-27	22 26
9 35	cf. 18 3-4	cf. 9 48 b
——	23 11	——
——	23 12	——
——	——	18 14 b
——	[20 28 D. cur. Syr.]	14 11
10 31	19 30	[not 18 30]
——	20 16	——
——	——	13 30

The passage in which the saying has the best attestation, the clearest setting, and most unmistakably the new ethical meaning is Mk. 10 43-44. The original identity of Luke's apparently independent account with that of Mark and

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Matthew can hardly be questioned. Whether the words were spoken on the way to Jerusalem (Mk., Mt.), or after the Last Supper (Lk.), or on neither occasion, cannot be determined. A more important question is whether we are to accept Mark's introductory incident, the ambitious request of James and John, and the response of Jesus to it. Luke's account substitutes for this the general statement that there was rivalry among them as to which of them was to be accounted greater (22 24). It would seem easier to account for the omission of an incident derogatory to two of the foremost apostles than to account for its invention. Matthew already lessens the offense by ascribing the request to their mother. Further, Jesus' disavowal of authority to determine the rank of his disciples in the coming kingdom would seem to meet the test of originality which Schmiedel formulates: like Mk. 13 32, it is not what we should expect the worship of Jesus to produce. On the other hand, account must be taken of the argument of Wellhausen, J. Weiss, and Schwartz that the incident could hardly have maintained itself in its present form in the gospel tradition unless John as well as James had actually suffered martyrdom in the early apostolic age (Mk. 10 38-39). And then, if these were in fact the first martyrs among the Twelve, the question arises how far the event may have shaped the narrative.

Luke, it would seem, passed by the incident (Mk. 10 35-45 would fall between Lk. 18 34 and 35) because he preferred to give the sayings which form its climax in the place and in the shorter form which they had in another source (22 24-27). Here it follows the account of the Last Supper, and has a striking relationship, in vss. 26-27, to the account in John 13 of Jesus' ministering to his disciples. Luke may have preferred this account because it did not contain the request of James and John, or because the position, after the Supper, seemed to him preferable, or because he valued the form in which the Passion history lay before him too highly to alter it, and so cut out the passage in the Mark form to avoid repetition. But fortunately the

meaning of the saying does not depend on the incident that occasioned it, but is fixed by the sentences which in both sources lead up to it (Mk. 10 42 Lk. 22 25). Jesus rebukes the spirit of rivalry and personal ambition by saying that this belongs to heathen rulers, but should not exist among his disciples. "It is not [Mt. *shall not be*] so among you, but whoever wishes to become great among you shall be [ἔσται] your servant, and whoever of you wishes to become first shall be slave of all." In this report of the saying (Mk., Mt.), the future is certainly used in the imperative sense. Ἔσται and ἔστω, forms easily interchangeable in texts, both translate the same Hebrew or Aramaic; and the imperative sense of the future, usually but not always in the second person, had become familiar through the Septuagint; so that usage allows what the connection demands, the imperative, not the future, meaning, the paradox, not the prediction. Being a servant, slave of all, is not a result and penalty of ambition, but expresses the ideal of the disciples' conduct.

Luke's source reads: "He that is greater among you let him become as the younger, and he that is chief as he that serves." Here the sense is somewhat altered. We seem to be in the time, which is after that of Jesus' life, when there were in fact greater and less, rulers and servants, in the Christian community; and the admonition is that the great should be humble, the leaders should be in their spirit *as* servants.

The passage most like this is Mk. 9 35, but the section in which it occurs is quite differently given in the three gospels (Mk. 9 33-37 Mt. 18 1-5 Lk. 9 46-48). The three accounts agree in stating that there was a discussion among the disciples as to which is greater [Mt. adds "in the Kingdom of Heaven"], and that Jesus set a child in their midst and said that one who receives a little child receives him. Before introducing the child, Mark inserts our saying. In the midst of the incident Matthew has a saying about child-likeness (18 3-4), and at the end of the incident Luke adds, "for he that is less among you is great" (9 48b). Now

the connection between the saying, "He who receives one of these little children . . . receives me," and the dispute of the disciples as to the first place is certainly not clear. We should expect rather to find Jesus pointing to the example of the child and urging child-likeness, as he does on another occasion (Mk. 10 13-16). Indeed, the words of Jesus on these two occasions would read more naturally if we changed them about, and put the charge to become childlike in Mk. 9 37, and the charge to receive children in Mk. 10 15. Matthew seems to have felt this, for he takes Mk. 10 15 out of the second incident and inserts it in amplified form in the first (Mt. 18 3-4, between Mk. 9 36 and 37).

It seems therefore that each of the evangelists felt that the occasion, the dispute about primacy, and the saying about receiving children, did not fit together, and each has tried in his own way to connect the two, or to bring in somewhere the answer of Jesus which the disciples' rivalry called for. Now if in the Mark source, which Matthew and Luke used, vs. 35 already stood, it does not seem likely that they would have made a different attempt to solve the difficulty, for this solution is as good as any other. I am inclined therefore to say that vs. 35 did not stand in the Mark source. Codex D, in fact, omits the saying, though on this not much stress can be put. We are not, then, I think, to regard this as another use of the saying by Jesus, but as borrowed by some editor from the similar incident already considered.

Perhaps the evangelists did not follow the original tradition in attempting an adjustment between the two parts of this section. Wellhausen infers from the fact that in vs. 33 the disciples are with Jesus in the house, while in vs. 35 he calls them to him, that the two parts did not belong together in the original form of the tradition. Yet a connection is not inconceivable. Jesus may possibly have meant: You seek greatness for yourselves, but you ought rather to recognize greatness in the least of your fellowmen, and treat them with such respect and render them such services as are due to the greatest.

It is probably more natural to suppose that the connection is due to the evangelist, and is not historical; and in that case J. Weiss's understanding of Mark's application of the section deserves to be considered. The evangelist wishes, he thinks, to rebuke the ambition of the Twelve for rank and authority. It is not the Twelve only who represent Christ, so that men's attitude toward them is their attitude toward Christ (cf. Mt. 10 40); but even the child, the least member of the Christian community, is equally Christ's representative, and one who receives him receives Christ. In this case our saying, in vs. 35, may have a threatening tone. The ambition of those who are seeking places of rulership in the community, even if they belong to the Twelve, will be rebuked and punished at the last day.

In Mt. 23 11 our saying occurs again, and, in view of what precedes it, in the ethical rather than in the eschatological sense. Here the conduct of the Christian community is contrasted not, as in Mk. 10 43 *f.*, with that of the heathen, but with that of the Pharisees, who made a display of their piety and loved to be conspicuous and admired. The passage breathes the spirit of Jesus, but in its present form, especially in vs. 10, it betrays the apostolic age. It is not quite clear whether the evangelist uses the sentence (vs. 11) here in the sense that the choice of the servant's place is the way to gain true greatness (Mk. 10 43 *f.*), or in the sense that he who is in fact the greatest in the circle of disciples, either in rank or repute, should use his greatness for the service of the community, in a spirit of humility, recognizing the sole headship of Christ (cf. Lk. 22 26).

Immediately after this verse Matthew has the eschatological saying: "Whoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled, and whoever shall humble himself shall be exalted." This is a familiar Old Testament and Jewish sentence and sentiment. The thought is central in Isaiah's teaching, and has a large place in the Old Testament.[1] In the case of a saying so familiar as this it is especially hard to decide whether

[1] See, for example, Isa. 2 1 Sam. 2 1-10 Ezek. 17 24 21 31 (26) Ps. 75 7 147 6 Prov. 3 34 29 23 Job 22 29 Ecclus. 10 7-18 Ps. Sol. 2 33 (31) 17 8 (7).

Jesus used it and on what occasions. It could too easily come to the mind of a Jewish writer and be supplied where it seemed appropriate. In Jewish writings the saying is often used to express the thought that Yahweh cannot endure rivalry, but asserts himself by virtue of the very exclusiveness of his nature against everything that is high and lifted up. The humbling of the proud and the elevation of the lowly is a demonstration of the sovereignty of God. In this sense we should not expect Jesus to use it. But did he cite the saying at all in his denunciation of the Pharisees?

The saying occurs twice in Luke. One instance is at the end of the parable of the Pharisee and Publican (Lk. 18 14b), where, however, it is hardly needed. The sentence, "This man went down to his house justified rather than the other," forms a fitting close, and has a sufficient ground in the story itself. It does not need to be further grounded by appeal to this Biblical principle.[2] My impression is that it would not have occurred to Jesus here so naturally as it would to some of his reporters, for his purpose in the parable was to picture the repulsive nature of pride and the beauty of humility, rather than to predict the humbling of the proud and the elevation of the humble.

The saying is found again at the end of the parable against choosing the chief seats at feasts (Lk. 14 11). Though Luke calls this a parable, he seems to take it literally. Jesus is sitting at a Pharisee's table; seeing the guests press forward he gives counsel as to the proper conduct of guests, and then as to the duty of hosts (vss. 12-14). The familiar quotation with which the section, vss. 7-11, ends is of course appropriate. Yet even here there is reason to doubt whether Jesus uttered the eschatological sentence. In the important parallel to this section given after Mt. 20 28 in D, Cur. Syr., and some old Latin texts, this saying (Lk. 14 11) is wanting, and its place is taken by the agraphon with which the passage is introduced: ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξῆσαι, καὶ [Syr. Cur. ולא = καὶ μὴ] ἐκ μείζονος ἔλαττον εἶναι. The saying is so difficult as to make a strong claim to origi-

[2] See Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, p. 607.

nality. The reading of Syr. Cur. is quite certainly an effort to make a hard saying easy. Perhaps Luke's text represents the substitution of a familiar and easy sentence for this hard one; the substitution of the easy eschatology of Judaism for one of the hard ethical paradoxes of Jesus. In the light of the other paradox, "Whoever would be first among you let him be last of all," may we not well suppose Jesus to have said: "Seek ye from the little to increase and from the greater to be less"; and to have meant: Seek to excel by seeking to serve; be ambitious to be great, and, to that end, be ambitious to be servant of all. The two pursuits, apparently contradictory, are really harmonious. Then would follow a proper parable, in which Jesus shows that even in everyday life it is sometimes true that the best way to seek to be greater is to seek to be less.

With these passages ought to be cited again Mt. 18 4, already referred to as a part of Matthew's link between the incident of the disciples' dispute about primacy and the saying about receiving children. "Whoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the Kingdom of Heaven." This is the only other passage in the Synoptists where ταπεινόω is used in this sense. Comparing the passage with Mk. 10 13-16 and parallels, it seems certain that Jesus said that to such as the little children the Kingdom of God belongs, that is, to such belongs primacy, God-likeness, sonship, and the son's inheritance. It seems to me characteristic of the mind of Jesus that he should change the proud Jewish maxim, The exalted shall be humbled and the humble exalted; God will cast down the mighty from their seats and exalt those of low degree; into the rebuke of Jewish and human pride, Except ye humble yourselves as this little child ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of God. He brought not the comforting assurance that the lowly were to be set on high, but the severe charge that only lowliness is pleasing to God.

The question now remains whether Jesus expressed this Jewish expectation of the future humbling of the great and exalting of the lowly by the phrase, The first shall be last,

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and the last first. The words occur in this eschatological sense in Mk. 10 31 and in the parallel in Matthew, but not in Luke. According to Luke, whose form is the simplest, to Peter's words, Behold we have left our possessions and followed thee, Jesus replied, There is no one who has left house, or wife, or brothers, or parents, or children, for the Kingdom of God, who shall not receive manifold more in this time, and in the world to come life eternal. Mark and Matthew add: But many first shall be last, and the last first. Luke's omission of the sentence may be due to its absence from his Mark source; or to his having already used it in an eschatological sense in 13 30, where it is applied to the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the heathen; or to his wish to avoid what might seem to be a warning over against the promise of eternal life to those who renounce their earthly possessions. For if stress be put on the adversative, δέ, the sentence seems to warn the disciples against too great confidence. Eternal life is promised to those who renounce all, *but* the divine judgment will surprise many human anticipations, therefore beware! It is, however, more natural to suppose that the two evangelists regard the future reward of the disciples as an illustration of the principle, not as rendered uncertain by it. This seems entirely certain in the case of Matthew on account of his insertion of vs. 28 (Lk. 22 28-30), with its definite promise of literal royalty to the Twelve.

That Jesus in fact set before his disciples in this bold way the future advantages of present self-denial is not quite easy to believe; and especially unnatural would it seem for him to use, in making this appeal to self-interest, just the phrase in which he most strikingly expressed his opposition to self-interest and his criticism of the ambition for high places in his kingdom. The significant thing in Jesus' reply to Peter's claim for reward for his self-sacrifice is his declaration that renunciation is abundantly rewarded in this present world, as well as in that which is to come. This is like him. The contrast in his mind was not between present sacrifice and future compensation, but between the lesser

good that is renounced and the greater good that is even now gained. Outward wealth is given up, but a spiritual wealth more than takes its place. It is more blessed to give than to receive. Jesus may well have run through the list again, as Mark makes him do, in promising the hundredfold reward now in this world (vs. 30); and it illustrates the constant pressure of the eschatological interest, pushing aside the spiritual meaning of Jesus, that Matthew omits the enumeration in this verse, which secures for it a figurative and spiritual meaning, and inserts vs. 28, which demands the future and the external. Luke's omission of this part of Mark's vs. 30 may have been independent of Matthew's, and for similar reasons. Matthew, however, goes further than Luke, for he omits even the phrase "in this time," and leaves the reward solely future. The future is of course not to be omitted from Jesus' promise of reward. The world to come will confirm the reality and eternal quality of the gain that even now offsets earthly loss, and will justify the wisdom of the man who sells all he has to buy the pearl or the field that is worth more than all he has. But the striking thing in the thought of Jesus about reward is the interblending of present and future by which the eschatology is essentially spiritualized; and this is quite lost when Mark and Matthew add: Many first shall be last and the last first; for this seems to mean simply that those who now become poor, as the rich man had just refused to do, will be rich in the coming world, and those who are now rich will be poor. My impression is, then, that we are nearer the original reply of Jesus to Peter in Mark's form of vss. 29-30, but with Luke's omission of Mark's vs. 31.

It is not surprising to find so confirmed an eschatologist as J. Weiss reversing this criticism, and casting doubt on vss. 29-30, with their thought of a present reward, an inner gain through outer loss; while he says of vs. 30 that "it is a key-note of the preaching of Jesus that in the [future] Kingdom of God the relations of rank will be reversed, and that those who are first here will stand lowest there."

Directly after this sentence Matthew inserts the parable

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of equal wages for unequal toil; and we may suppose that the occasion for its insertion just here lay in the fact that it ended, in Matthew's source, with a very similar sentence, which the parable was supposed to illustrate, "Thus (οὕτως) the last shall be first and the first last" (Mt. 20 16). The sentence differs from 19 30 in the omission of πολλοί, and in reversing the order of the clauses. If we accept the sentence as the original end of the parable, the meaning must be not, as in 19 30, the reversal of the present lots of the righteous and the unrighteous, of believers and unbelievers, but the obliteration of present distinctions among the righteous themselves in the coming day of judgment. There will be no first and last so far as reward is concerned. The last will receive as much as the first, and the first no more than the last, so that it can be said that the last become first and the first last (B. Weiss). The parable and the proverb might then have been understood as a rebuke of the claims and assumptions of the Twelve. We have seen, however, that Matthew can hardly have taken 19 30 in that sense on account of his insertion of vs. 28.

The parable must be studied by itself, since its connection either with Peter's claim (19 27) or with the saying in 19 30 is shown by Mark and Luke to be due solely to Matthew. It must, I think, be confessed that the parable, read by itself, does not appear to offer an illustration of the principle expressed in vs. 16. The parable is one of the most striking of Jesus' criticisms of legalistic religion. It is a justification of his own attitude toward sinners, which was an offense to Pharisaic ideals. Its teaching is parallel to that of the Prodigal Son. Now the saying about first and last does not naturally express the thought that the principle of desert does not give adequate account of God's dealings with men. I am inclined to think therefore that here again the eschatological saying proves to be unauthentic, and that we should probably accept Jülicher's understanding of the evangelist's course of thought. The Twelve, Matthew thinks, are to be exalted to thrones of rulership over Israel (19 27 f.); while those who believe that they are called to

first places in God's kingdom, the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees, will for the most part be shamefully rejected (19 30). Then Matthew inserts the parable, with its similar end, understanding it to mean the rebuke and rejection by God of the Jews, those who seemed to have the first place; that is, Matthew interprets the parable in the sense of the parables of the Wicked Husbandmen and the Marriage Feast. He may have understood that those who were first hired at fixed wages, the law-community, incurred the anger of their master and were sent away from his presence (vss. 14-15). Vs. 16 would fit this application of the parable to the rejection of Israel, but would not fit its original meaning.

The saying before us was thus probably understood by Matthew in 20 16, and perhaps in 19 30, as referring to the rejection of the Jews, or of the Pharisees; and this is clearly Luke's application of it in 13 30. The section 13 23-30 is put together out of originally diverse materials. The theme is perhaps throughout that few will be saved (vs. 23; cf. Mk. 10 26 = Lk. 18 26). The beginning of the section seems to deal with a sifting of the Christian community; but even in the suggestion of the parable of the Virgins, in vss. 25-27, it is the Jewish people who are rejected (vss. 26-27 = Mt. 7 22-23), and it is to these that vss. 28-29 (= Mt. 8 11-12) relate. The Jewish people then are those to whom vs. 30 is applied, those who were first in privilege and opportunity, but have made themselves last by their rejection of Christ. We are forbidden by the fragmentary character of the materials here put together to make any inference as to the use of our gnome by Jesus in this threatening sense.

The saying occurs, evidently in the eschatological sense, in the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of 1904. It appears to be the only answer granted to the question that a man shall not hesitate to ask concerning the place of the future consummation, or his place in it. No analogies, canonical or uncanonical, have enabled editors to get beyond pure conjecture as to the missing half lines, and so to give us our familiar saying in a new setting.

The saying of Jesus about first and last, in its best attested

form and connection, is a paradoxical expression of an ethical truth, but already within the gospel tradition it has been carried over into the region of eschatology. The evidence that Jesus used it in the eschatological sense is at no point convincing. This of course does not mean that eschatology had no place in the teaching of Jesus, but only that there was a tendency in the gospel tradition to give it a larger place than it really had. Jesus certainly put much stress on the promise and threat of future reward, and even on occasion pointed to a reversal of the present lot of men in the world to come, as in the picture of the Rich Man and Lazarus. But his most characteristic teachings were in the region of the inner life; and the tradition of the saying about the first and last is an illustration of the early preponderance of the eschatological interest, and of the way in which some of the hard sayings of Jesus were made easy by transferring them from the inner life to the outer, and from the present to the future. Our study concerns but a small detail, and involves in itself, however it may issue, no change in our conception of the teaching of Jesus. But a small thing can show the drift of the current; and now that it has become a fad of critical scholarship to magnify the eschatological factor in the thought of Jesus, it is worth while to note evidences, be they great or small, that the earliest tradition tended to enlarge that factor, and to lose for its sake some of the subtler meanings of the Master.

The Unity of the Older Saul-David Narratives

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AS the strata of the Books of Samuel are so distinct in character, the earlier and later narratives of Saul and David are readily separated. The latter has long been recognized as theocratic in tendency, showing evidence of having adjusted incident to theory; the former is simple and straightforward in recital, with no trace of coloring or bias. This older narrative undoubtedly presents the more trustworthy history of the rise of Israel's kingdom and its progress to the beginning of Solomon's reign.

This older account falls into three divisions. The *first*, briefly speaking, relates that a Benjamite, named Saul, is secretly anointed king over Israel by Samuel, a seer of some renown in an unnamed locality. By a fortuitous circumstance, Saul becomes the successful leader of the Israelites against the Ammonite king, Nahash, is thereupon made king over Israel by the people, and early in his reign, aided largely by the daring of his son Jonathan, fights a successful battle with the Philistines. The *second* division recounts the coming of David to Saul's court, his successful leadership against the Philistines, Saul's growing jealousy of David, David's flight from Saul, his adventures as a freebooter, the death of Saul and Jonathan, and David's accession to the throne. The *third* division describes the career of David at his court in Jerusalem, the vicissitudes of his family life, the coronation of his second son Solomon, and David's death.

I

The composition of these divisions is fairly well agreed upon.[1] Before discussing their unity, however, a word needs

[1] To the *first* division belong: 1 Sam. 9_{1-5} 9_{10}–10_{7} 10_{9-16} $11_{1-6a.}$ $9-11.$ 15 $13_{1-7a.}$ $15_{b-13.}$ 22 $14_{1-46.}$ To the *second* belong: 1 Sam. 14_{52} 16_{14-23} $18_{1b.}$ $2-5.$ $20-29a$

to be said on some of the open questions concerning the composition.

First as to 1 Sam. 18. This chapter presents many difficulties. The text of LXX omits the first five verses, and seems to present a better account of the relations between Saul and David which grew into Saul's jealousy of David. This shorter text is generally accepted, and the first five verses of MT are not taken into account.

There is good reason, however, for considering parts of these verses as belonging to the earlier version. Vs. 1a is evidently an attempt to connect ch. 18 with the Goliath story of ch. 17, and hence should be omitted. Vs. 2 merely repeats ch. 16^{22}, viz. that Saul kept David at his court, and is not to be considered. But vss. 1b and 3 are necessary parts of the older version. They tell us of the friendship of David and Jonathan which the narrator further on (20^{8}) assumes that we know.[2] These vss. 1b and 3, instead of breaking the context, connect with the foregoing narrative, *i.e.* with 16^{23}, far more smoothly than does vs. 5, which Budde and Kittel make the new starting-point, or vs. 6, at which Wellhausen and H. P. Smith make their division.

Vs. 4 relates how David, who came as a shepherd boy to Saul's court, lacking the outfit that a king's armor-bearer and intimate companion of the king's son should have, was supplied with these by Jonathan. This verse, therefore, naturally follows and concludes vs. 3, and should be regarded as a part of the older account.

Vs. 5 begins to tell how David, going whithersoever Saul sent him, proved to be a better warrior than Saul. This introduces the cause of Saul's jealousy and is important for

20$^{1b-8.\ 11.\ 17-39}$ 22$^{1-6a.\ 7-10a}$ 22$^{11-23^{14a}}$ 23$^{19-25^{44}}$ 27$^{1-28^{2}}$ 29 30 28$^{4-25}$ 31$^{1-2}$ Sam. 1^{4} 1$^{11-12}$ 1$^{17-31}$ 3$^{6-29}$ 3$^{31-5^{25}}$ 21$^{15-22}$ 23$^{6-29}$. To the *third* belong 2 Sam. 6 9$^{1-20^{23}}$ 1 Kings 1 2$^{12-26.\ 28-46}$.

[2] Driver (*Introduction*^{7}, p. 180) says, "It is to be observed that the covenant with Jonathan, 18^{3}, is presupposed by 20^{8}." For this reason Baudissin would preserve all of 18$^{1-5}$. "Dieser Bericht ist zum Verständniss des weiterhin Folgenden notwendig, kann also wohl in keinem Fall eine Interpolation des massoretischen Textes sein" (*Einleitung*, p. 234). To the same effect Kuenen (*Onderzoek*^{2}, i. 391 f.).

the subsequent developments. We should give preference, therefore, in the particulars indicated, to the Hebrew text of vss. 1-5.

The remaining portion of ch. 18 also has its difficulties. Vs. 6, because of the reference to הפלשתי, meaning evidently the Goliath of ch. 17, is variously handled.[8] There would, of course, be no difficulty with the verse if instead of הפלשתי, suggesting the later insertion of the Goliath story, הפלשתים were the reading. David, as Saul's general, was doubtless continually skirmishing with the lifelong enemies of Saul. He surely had more than one victory over them. At one time he may have completely routed them. On his return the women went out to greet him. Saul, naturally, was at the head of the home-coming soldiers, as the verse implies, but in the ovation was slighted. That הפלשתים, instead of הפלשתי, was the original reading, seems to me, therefore, likely. To drop a ם would be a far more easy mistake for a copyist to make than the copying of שאול for שמואל and *vice versa*, which is generally held to have occurred in 1 Sam. 11$_{12}$ 28$_{12}$. The copyist, in the former case, had to copy הפלשתי in ch. 17 twenty-eight times, הפלשתים only seven. With the Goliath story vividly in mind, it would have been excusable for him to copy the singular in vs. 6 of ch. 18 mistakenly, or even, according to his view, to correct the plural by writing the singular.

Vss. 10-11 of this chapter are also lacking in LXX. It is doubtful whether they belong to the older narrative. They tell of the attack Saul made upon David with his spear as David was playing to him on his harp. Unless we assume that Saul was so beside himself with jealousy toward David that his act was the act of a crazy man, we cannot believe he would have sought to kill David at this time. And in the further story he does not act with frenzy toward David, but with consummate tact sets a trap into which David almost falls.

[8] Budde deletes the first part of the verse, telling of David's victory, thereby removing the objectionable הפלשתי, but retains the song of the women. Without an account of some victory, however, the song loses its purpose.

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Furthermore, the young warrior is a most valuable addition to the king's army. Not until Saul sees that David must necessarily be looked upon as a rival does he take measures to do away with him. Again, if David had known as early as the time represented by vss. 10-11 that Saul intended to kill him, he would not have considered so unconcernedly a closer relationship with Saul (*i.e.* a marriage with one of Saul's daughters). We learn later on (ch. 20) that David fled as soon as he was convinced that Saul had designs upon his life. We also read that whenever David played for Saul, Saul "was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (16$_{23}$).

Another reason for suspecting this passage is the use of the word "spear" (חנית): "Saul sat with his spear in his hand." This is a favorite expression of the later version and does not appear in the earlier (cf. 1 Sam. 19$_{9}$ 22$_{6}$ 26$_{7. 12. 16. 22}$ 2 Sam. 1$_{6}$). In these passages Saul and his "spear" are found to be inseparable. Stade calls attention to the fact that Saul's spear is laid beside him even in his death (2 Sam. 1$_{6}$, part of the later version).[4] Stade fails to note, however, that in the older account of Saul's death (1 Sam. 31$_{4}$), the word used is not חנית, but חרב.[5]

Whether ch. 24 or 26 is the older is also an open question. Both chapters relate the incident of David sparing Saul's life.[6] The following reasons seem to me to be conclusive in favor of ch. 24:

[4] Saul is found "gestützt auf seinem Speer." The spear "ist so typisch, dass er auch in dieser Situation [*i.e.* his death] Saul beigelegt wird" (Stade, *Geschichte*, p. 258, note 3).

[5] It is also to be noted that wherever רוח with צלח (*i.e.* the evil came upon Saul) is found in the older version עַל and not אֶל is the preposition used (על Jud. 14$_{6. 19}$ 15$_{14}$ 1 Sam. 10$_{6. 10}$ 11$_{6}$; אל in 1 Sam. 16$_{13}$ 18$_{10}$). This point would be of importance if we were sure of the correct text.

[6] Budde and Kittel hold to ch. 24. Cornill in the *Königsberger Studien* (vol. i. p. 43 ff.) says that ch. 26 is apparently the earlier version. In the 3d and 4th editions of his *Einleitung* he says: "das ganze Stück 23$_{19}$-24$_{23}$ [gehört] der älteren Quelle und seine Parallele 26 der jüngeren an." In the 5th edition of his *Einleitung* he definitely states that ch. 26 is the earlier. Stade in his *Geschichte* (p. 248) leaves it doubtful as to which chapter is in his

1. The text is shorter. In the Baer-Delitzsch reprint ch. 24 has eleven lines fewer, in the *SBOT* text eight lines fewer, than ch. 26.[7]

2. The whereabouts of David in ch. 24 are more accurately given than in ch. 26. He is consistently described as a fugitive from Saul, hiding himself on the heights. These are the facts as related in ch. 22 and 2 Sam. 23[14], chapters which are universally regarded as belonging to the older stratum. In ch. 26 on the other hand David is in the wilderness of Ziph.

3. In ch. 24 Saul is accidentally brought into the power of David. David, let it be remembered, was a fugitive from Saul,[8] and he desired to meet Saul only on friendly terms. Why then should he steal secretly under cover of night into the camp of Saul as ch. 26 relates? This would be only a deed of daring such as the Goliath story calls to mind, and one is strongly led to believe that the same hand which later contributed the Goliath story added ch. 26 for the same reason, viz. to show David's prowess. Chapter 24 naturally relates that Saul entered a cave where David with some of his men was in hiding,[9] and of course assumes that Saul, entering from the strong light of the sun, did not see David and his men crouching in dark recesses.

4. It is also more natural to assume that David would have disclosed himself to Saul in the simple way which ch. 24 describes than that he would have heaped up re-

opinion the earlier. H. P. Smith says: "The slight preponderance of probability seems to me to be on the side of ch. 26 as more original" (*Commentary*, p. 216). Driver contents himself with the remark: "Ch. 26 is generally considered to be the earlier and the more original" (*Introduction*[7], p. 181). Nowack (*Kommentar*) inclines to ch. 26; Wellhausen and Löhr claim ch. 26 as the earlier version.

[7] This of itself would count for little, although Budde mentions this fact as a point in favor of ch. 24 (*Richter und Samuel*, p. 229). Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*[5], p. 267) says that ch. 26 is the shorter (!), and gives that as a reason for thinking that ch. 26 is the older version.

[8] The word used here (1 Sam. 23[26]) is נִבְהַל, which Buhl translates "ängstlich bemüht," and then explains with our own term "he was anxious" [to get out of Saul's way].

[9] Such caves are not unusual in that region. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 229.

proaches upon Saul's guard for their carelessness in not defending Saul, as ch. 26 relates. This again would only be a mark of David's bravery and daring. The dialogue, too, between Saul and David in ch. 24 is more in accord with what one would expect under the circumstances of the strained relation between Saul and David than is that of ch. 26.

5. Ch. 26 also has a religious tendency. The mention of incense to appease the Lord, of Israel's inheritance of the Lord, from which David was driven out to go serve other gods,[10] and of the Lord's stirring up Saul to persecute David,[11] are to be noted. Then again the older narrative consistently regards Jahveh as on David's side, his spirit having departed from Saul. Accordingly, ch. 24 in referring to Saul says simply, "my hand was not against *thee*," while ch. 26 uses the phrase "against *the Lord's anointed*."

6. David's followers are more accurately described in ch. 24 than in ch. 26. He is always spoken of as being surrounded by "his men" (אנשיו). Löhr calls this a meaningless term ("eine blasse Allgemeinheit"), preferring the particular statements of ch. 26, where Abishai and the Hittite Ahimelech are mentioned as being close to David. The mention of Ahimelech, who is a priest, would be expected from the religiously inclined writer of ch. 26. It is also related to ch. 21, which describes David's flight to Ahimelech, a chapter which even Löhr regards as issuing from a later source. Löhr forgets, too, that a motley crowd had rallied about David — "every one that was in distress and every one that was in debt and every one that was discontented." There were some four hundred of these, and they are always described in the older version by the simple term אנשיו.

7. Finally, in regard to style and vocabulary ch. 24 is

[10] Although these are old religious ideas and could well have found place in the older version, it is to be emphasized that the older writer had no religious motives and is lacking in religious allusion.

[11] The reason why Saul is pursuing David is very naturally stated in ch. 24, viz. the gossip among Saul's retainers, evidently due to their envy of David's greater generalship.

more akin to the older stratum than is ch. 26. We note the following:

1) אנשיו 'warriors,' or, as just intimated, 'fighting companions.' This is a favorite term in the older version (usually with *waw copul.*). It is not found in the later narrative. In ch. 24 it appears four times, and in other portions of the older version twenty-four times. If ch. 26 belonged to the older stratum, we should expect to find אנשיו in vss. 5. 13, surely in vs. 25. The last verse reads: "and David [after his conversation with Saul] went on his way." David, after his flight from Saul, is never described as going alone, but always as going with "his men." Cf. 1 Sam. 2423 with 1827 2520 2911, etc.

2) גמל 'to deal well or ill with,' with double accusative, 2418 2 Sam. 1937 'to deal well with.' ('To deal evil with,' Gen. 5015. 17 E). Not again in the historical books.

3) חלילה '*absit*,' with following אם and a finite verb, only in 1445 247 2 Sam. 2020 and Job 275. This form of oath is usually construed with ל of the person and מן with the infinitive. This is the construction in 2611.

4) כלב מת only in 2415 2 Sam. 98 and 169. Löhr disposes of the fact that this phrase appears only three times in the Old Testament, and each time in the older version under review, as "gewiss zufällig"; and Cheyne sees in it the spectre of a Calebite.

5) בֶּלֶט 'in secret,' only in 1822 245, and Ruth 37.

6) מצודה 'high fortress,' 'stronghold,' 221 (see Buhl) 4. 5 241. 23 2 Sam. 517 2314 (also in vs. 13, Kittel). Elsewhere only in Job 3928. Leaving ch. 24 out of the account entirely, we find David during his flight always on the hilltops. Even had he gone down into the valley, as ch. 26 relates, we should expect him to return, as ch. 24 states, to the hills, where we find him later, and not merely to go on his way, as 2625 says.

7) קול with נשא 'he lifted up his voice and wept,' 2417 302 2 Sam. 332; plural, 1 Sam. 114 and 2 Sam. 1336. This phrase is very seldom found — only six times.

8) קדד always joined with וישתחו and אפים ארצה 'and

he stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself.' This phrase is found only in the Jahvist document and in the older stratum of the books of Samuel (in Samuel five times), excepting a few times in the Chronicler.[12]

9) וישפטני מידך 'may he do justice unto me and deliver me out of thy hand,' 24$_{16}$ 25$_{39}$ 2 Sam. 18$_{19}$ and 31. Budde and Nowack both regard this as a J phrase.

So much for the verbal similarity between ch. 24 and the older stratum. A few expressions which are found in ch. 26 and only in the younger version should be noted. יקר 18$_{30}$ 26$_{21}$; אל יפל 26$_{20}$ 17$_{32}$; especially מענל 'a part of a camp,' 17$_{20}$ 26$_{5.\ 7}$; and מראשות 26$_{7.\ 11.\ 12.\ 16}$ and 19$_{13.\ 16}$. This last expression is elsewhere found only in E: Gen. 28$_{11.\ 18}$, and in 1 Kings 19$_{6}$ and Jer. 13$_{18}$.

The story of the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28$_{4\text{-}25}$) offers another occasion for debate.[13] Almost every critic attributes this narration to the hand which wrote ch. 15 (the rejection of Saul by Samuel).[14] Wellhausen suggests that as God called Saul to the throne, but was disappointed in him, a rejection of the king was necessary to complete the story.[15] This rejection in the older version can only be found in ch. 28. And the rejection here is entirely in harmony with the older narrative. Saul is chosen and anointed by Samuel, the spirit of God departs from Saul, it remains only for the

[12] Budde regards this fact as strong evidence for relating the older stratum in the books of Samuel with the J document of the Hexateuch. For our purpose this phrase must therefore be considered as adding strongly to the probable earlier origin of ch. 24.

[13] This account is regarded by only Budde and Kittel as part of the earlier stratum.

[14] Why should we expect two rejections of Saul by Samuel in the same document?

[15] Wellhausen finds this rejection begun in ch. 15 [how about 13$_{7b\text{-}15a}$?] and ended in ch. 28. But ch. 15, in spite of vs. 31, shows that Saul, so far as the later version is concerned, was definitely and finally rejected by Samuel. Cf. vss. 23. 26. 34. 35. Wellhausen asks for only one rejection, but if he regards ch. 28 as part of the later stratum, he will have two rejections (or even three, for 13$_{7b\text{-}15a}$ belongs to the later narrative) to account for. Again the Saul in ch. 15 is not the Saul of the older version appointed by God, but the king of the younger stratum whom the people demanded, cf. 10$_{20}$ ff.

writer to bring about Saul's rejection. This he ingeniously contrives in the witch story.[16]

There is also literary ground for regarding 28⁴-²⁵ as belonging to the older account. Note especially:

1) זעק בקול גדול in 28¹² and 2 Sam. 19⁵. Elsewhere only in Ezekiel 11¹³ and Neh. 9⁴.

2) לוש in connection with לקח only in 28²⁴ and 2 Sam. 13⁸. The significance of this phrase is not the words used (for doubtless there were no other words to use), but the similarity of the incidents. See below under numbers 4, 6, and 7.

3) וימאן ויאמר לא אכל only found in 28²³ and 2 Sam. 13⁹.

4) מציל 18⁴ 24⁵. ¹² 28¹⁴ and 2 Sam. 13¹⁸. Also in 1 Sam. 2¹⁹ and 15²⁷.

5) הגיש לו with אכל only in 28²⁵ and 2 Sam. 13¹¹.

6) פרץ 'to entreat with,' 'to request,' with ב, 28²³ 2 Sam. 13²⁵. ²⁷. Elsewhere only in 2 Kings 5²³. (See number 79 in the table of words and phrases.)[17]

7) קדד (see number 8 in ch. 24 above).

8) ויקם מהארץ. This phrase appears only in 28²³ and 2 Sam. 12²⁰, describing in one place the condition of Saul and in the other that of David. Here again the similarity of description is most striking.

9) שאל 'to ask God' with לא ענה, only in 14³⁷ and 28⁶. Budde says this verse (28⁶) finds its only parallel in content and expression in 14³⁷.

10) שפחתך, as a humble reference to oneself, 25²⁷ 28²¹. ²³ 2 Sam. 14⁷. ¹². ¹⁵. ¹⁷. ¹⁹. Elsewhere only three times.

These resemblances of style, together with the other reasons given, seem to me sufficient to justify regarding 28⁴-²⁵ as a part of the older account.[18]

[16] The writer who sent Saul to Samuel when he was in distress over his father's lost asses, would also be likely to send Saul to the same Samuel (even by the means of witchcraft) on the eve of the king's imminent downfall before the Philistines.

[17] The whole incident of the witch preparing the food in ch. 28 is strikingly like that of Tamar in 2 Sam. 13.

[18] 2 Sam. 1 is not included in the older stratum by Stade, Wellhausen, and H. P. Smith. One expects some account telling how David learned of Saul's death. This account is given in vss. 1-4. Vss. 11-12 and 17-27 naturally follow.

II

So much for the more debated questions as to what the older divisions should include. As to their unity, while much has been said against and something for it, there has been no detailed presentation of either view.[19] We offer the following points in favor of single authorship:

1. That there is a continuity of subject-matter has never been questioned. The writers on the history of Israel use all the facts narrated as though coming from one source. The author was writing a history of David. This explains why David, after once he comes upon the scene, is the real hero and why Saul is relegated to the background. This also disposes of the objection to the unity that *division one* is written

Vss. 5-10 are properly rejected because they contradict the account of Saul's death as given in 1 Sam. 31⁴ ff. (part of the older narrative); and vss. 13-16, because they are not in harmony with 2 Sam. 4¹⁰ (an undisputed part of the older narrative). In vs. 13 David is represented as asking the young man who brought the news of Saul's death, from whence he came, as though he had just finished his speech reported in vss. 5-10, whereas in fact vss. 11-12 tell us that David, on hearing of Saul's fate, mourned and fasted with his men until evening.

[19] The status of opinion is about as follows: (1) Stade (*Geschichte*, pp. 72, 219, and 267, note 3) and Wellhausen (*Proleg.*[6] p. 264 f. and in Bleek's *Einleitung*[4], pp. 214, 224, and 230 f.) regard the three divisions as distinct in authorship. Kuenen and Cornill come to about the same conclusion, although the latter in the 5th edition of his *Einleitung* sees no reason why the second and third divisions could not have been written by one man. (2) Kittel (*Geschichte*, p. 28) and Kautzsch (*Abriss*, p. 211) are of the opinion that the first two divisions are from the same pen. Baudissin says this is possible, but despairs of proof. (3) Driver (*Introduction*[7], p. 173) and Cornill (as above) think that the second and third divisions might be the work of one author. Kamphausen, in Kautzsch's *Altes Testament*, and Kautzsch in his *Abriss*, designate the first two chapters of 1 Kings as a part of the second division, instead of uniting them with division three (as is usually done). Two chapters of the third division, therefore, are thus attributed to the author of division two. (4) Nowack (*Kommentar*, pp. xxi-xxiii and xxvii), H. P. Smith (*Commentary*), and Löhr (*Kommentar*) regard the three divisions as the work of one writer. Smith and Löhr are pronounced in their views, but the former gives no reasons therefor, and the latter but few. Löhr says the three divisions present "eine aus einer Feder stammende Darstellung der Geschichte David's." Smith says this author wrote "soon after the death of Solomon."

from a standpoint favorable to Saul, *division two* favorable to David and against Saul, and *division three* not especially favorable to David, and that therefore each division must have been the work of a different writer. As we shall show later, the writer is especially interested in personalities. This accounts for the fact that in the first division, before anything of David can be known, the writer is so well disposed to Saul. It is to be noted also that Saul's weaknesses are no more relentlessly described in the second division than are David's in the third. A manifest desire on the part of the author is evident to give only the facts, whether the hero of Israel or its first king suffer thereunder.

2. There is a marked similarity of style, and a decided taste on the part of the author for certain incidents and characteristics. This similarity of style and taste is noticeable in the following points:

1) In the vivid and dramatic, often poetic, narration of events and conversation.[20] The use of dialogue is often resorted to.[21] Note, for instance, the description of Saul and his servant as they seek the asses (1 Sam. 9 3 ff.); or of David as he determines to avenge himself for Nabal's insult, and Abigail's soothing influence upon him (1 Sam. 25); or the conversation between David and Barzillai (2 Sam. 19 32-39) which presents David's nobility in such striking light. These events are described as if historical, and show the fine feeling of the author for the picturesque and his consummate skill in rendering it.

Note also the manner in which Saul's slaying of his oxen is described (1 Sam. 11 5); or Jonathan's scaling of the height of Michmash with his armor-bearer (14 1-15); or the thrilling table scene between Saul and Jonathan when

[20] Klostermann (*Kommentar*, p. xxxii) is so impressed with this fact that he is tempted to name the author of the third division.

[21] Löhr refers to 1 Sam. 10 and 20 and 2 Sam. 3 ff. 12. 13, and quotes Wellhausen (*Composition*[2], p. 262) as saying that the conversation in these chapters is dramatically reproduced. Wellhausen, however, is speaking only of 2 Sam. 9–1 Kings 2 (*i.e.* only of the third division of the older stratum). His remarks cannot be used as an opinion in favor of single authorship.

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Saul decrees David's death (20$_{27}$ ff.); or the shooting of the arrow to tell David of his danger (20$_{35-39}$); or the disastrous meeting of Abner and Asahel (2 Sam. 2$_{19}$); or the story of David and Uriah (11$_{7}$ ff.); of Amnon and Tamar (ch. 13); or the attitude of David when Bathsheba's child lies dying, and after David hears of its death (12$_{15}$ ff.); or his distress over the fate of Absalom (18$_{24}$ f.).

2) In the predilection for detail. The animals which have strayed are asses, the maidens are met outside of the village, Samuel is in the act of passing through the village gate, Saul is provided with a bed upon the roof, it is his uncle who asks him a question, he is just returning from the field when the messengers of Jabesh arrive, etc. Similar statement of detail might easily be multiplied.

3) In the fulness of explanation and conversation. The speakers are so eager for utterance that their lips can hardly move rapidly enough. Note, for example, how the maidens overwhelm Saul and his servant with explanations when they ask, "Is the seer at home?" (9$_{12}$ f.); or the reason Samuel gives Saul (10$_{2}$ LXX) for anointing him king; or the instruction David gives his men when he sends them to Nabal (25$_{5}$ f.); or that of Joab as he sends a messenger to tell David of Uriah's death (2 Sam. 11$_{18}$ ff.); or Abigail's plea before David (1 Sam. 25$_{23}$ f.); or the conversation of David with the woman of Tekoa (2 Sam. 14$_{4}$ f.) or with Barzillai (19$_{34}$ ff.); or the words of Jonathan to Adonijah when he informs him of Solomon's coronation (1 Kings 1$_{43}$ ff.).

4) In the instant readiness of Saul's and David's retainers to answer any question or carry out any suggestion. In 1 Sam. 16$_{15}$ ff. Saul's men immediately know of a musician who can dispel Saul's gloom; in 28$_{7}$ ff. they are quick to give information as to where a woman with a "familiar spirit" is to be found; in 2 Sam. 9 a servant steps forth at once to tell David whether an heir of Saul is still alive; and in 1 Kings 1$_{1}$ ff. it is David's servants who suggest that a damsel be procured to minister unto the king.

5) In the resemblance between the witch story (1 Sam. 28) and the narration of David's sorrow for Bathsheba's child

(2 Sam. 12^{16} ff.) where the fear of Saul in one case, and the guilty conscience of David in the other, are described in a noticeably similar way. Also, as already noted, in the similar descriptions of the woman in 1 Sam. 28 and of Tamar preparing and serving food in 2 Sam. 13, which are conspicuously alike both as to vocabulary and phraseology.

6) In the use of בן ישי in 1 Sam. 20$^{27.30}$ 22$^{7.9.13}$ 25^{10} and of בני צרויה in a contemptuous sense in 2 Sam. 3^{39} 19^{23}. Also of מר נפש in 1 Sam. 22^{2} and 2 Sam. 17^{8}.

7) In the particular statements of 1 Sam. 10^{4} (cf. 10^{27}, a gloss) 16^{20} 2 Sam. 16^{1} and 17^{27} ff. that the king may not be approached except with a present; and also of 1 Sam. 9^{8} (perhaps also in 25^{14}) 2 Sam. 9$^{2.10}$ f. and 16^{1} ff. that a slave might hold property. The repeated references to the use of the oracle before a battle (14$^{18.36}$ LXX 22^{13} 23^{9} 28^{15} 30^{8} and 2 Sam. 5^{19}) and the review of the troops (1 Sam. 29^{2} 2 Sam. 15^{18} and 18^{4}) are also noteworthy similarities. Furthermore David's weakness as described in 1 Sam. 25$^{22.34}$ 30^{17} ff. and 2 Sam. 11, and the murderous assaults of Joab so similarly narrated in 2 Sam. 3^{27} and 20^{9} argue strongly for single authorship.[22]

8) In the interest which the author displays in the persons of his narrative.[23] The reader, with no great effort of imagination, sees the heroes in relation to their deeds as a portrait in relation to its frame. One seems to be reading biography rather than history. This is true of the lesser as well as of the greater characters: of Hushai and Ahitophel as well as of Nathan; of Tamar as well as of Abigail and Bathsheba; of Uriah and Nabal as well as of Amnon or Absalom; of Amasa and Joab and Jonathan as well as of Saul and David. The reader is made acquainted with these persons, and comes to understand what is to be expected of

[22] In this connection Budde may also be quoted (*Richter und Samuel*, p. 274): "No less is it one and the same David who in 1 Sam. 30 sends presents to the tribes and families in Judæa, and in 2 Sam. 2 expresses his sorrow to the inhabitants of Jabesh, and in 2 Sam. 10 curries favor with the new king of Ammon, and much later in 2 Sam. 19 knows how to allure and tame his own tribe of Judah."

[23] Löhr also makes mention of this fact.

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them. Thus, to mention only one incident, the anger of Saul at the table when he discovered that Jonathan had tricked him in regard to David (1 Sam. 20) reminds the reader immediately of the incident recorded in 1 Sam. 11 when he is similarly seized with anger on hearing of the indignity with which Nahash threatened the Jabeshites.

9) For similarities in style and taste it is also interesting to compare the incident of the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam. 14), who alone is able to reason with David, and the introduction of Abigail, "full of discretion" (1 Sam. 25) to appease David's anger and hold his hands from wholesale murder. Again, in 1 Kings 1 11 ff., it is a woman, Bathsheba, who is brought forward to keep David true to his promise. It is a woman, also, to whom Saul turns in the moment of his direst need (1 Sam. 28); likewise is it a woman who in 2 Sam. 20 16 intercedes for her city and calls Joab from his work of destruction. Budde ascribes all these notices of female intuition and tact to one writer, "dem unübertrefflichen Meister weiblicher Seelenkunde" (*Kommentar*, p. 264). This writer did not hesitate to record David's predilection for beautiful women, as is shown in the Abigail, Bathsheba, and Abishag incidents.

3. Finally, the vocabulary and phraseology of the older stratum argue strongly for one author. As no comparative study of the vocabulary and phraseology of the older account has been made,[24] a tabular view is presented at the

[24] Löhr refers to the characteristic words and phrases to be found tabulated in the first edition of Cornill's *Einleitung* and in Driver's *Introduction*. Neither in his first nor in any subsequent edition does Cornill give a collection of such words and phrases; in fact, he does not even refer to any. Driver has two tabulations of words. The *first* consists of eleven words, which, however, are not characteristic for the older stratum alone, but for the books of Samuel and Kings in general. Concerning these Driver expressly says that their use "does not imply necessarily identity of author" (p. 184). One of these eleven words, נגד, appears prominently for the first time in the older stratum. In the *second* tabulation Driver presents twelve words which again are not characteristic for the older account especially, but "are peculiar, or nearly so, to 1 and 2 Samuel" (p. 185). Of these only four are peculiar to the older stratum: (1) ולא שתה לו (*i.e.* 'one blow would be sufficient') found in 26 8 (a chapter which Löhr counts with the older version)

close of this article. This tabulation can, of course, have only corroborative value. As Driver says, "Expressions which, if they stood alone, would have no appreciable weight, may help to support an inference, when they are combined with others pointing in the same direction" (*Introduction*[7], p. 177). It will at least serve a negative purpose, viz. to show that an objection to the unity of the older version on purely linguistic grounds is untenable. Its positive worth, also, is not to be depreciated, for on comparison with similar vocabularies which have been made in connection with the documentary criticism of the Hexateuch and the Book of Isaiah, there is as marked a similarity to be noted in the literary composition of the older Saul-David narrative as there is in the Jahvist or Elohist documents, or in first or second Isaiah. If it is proper to speak of a J and of an E vocabulary, as is commonly done, it is equally proper to speak of a vocabulary peculiar to the writer of the older version of the history of Saul and David.[25]

and 2 Sam. 20$_{10}$†; (2) the comparison with the angel of God, which appears in the Old Testament only in 1 Sam. 29$_9$ 2 Sam. 14$_{17.\ 20}$ 19$_{28}$; (3) חמש 2 Sam. 2$_{28}$ 3$_{27}$ 4$_6$ (not in LXX) and 20$_{10}$†; (4) ברה 'eating,' הברה with double acc. 'to give an invalid to eat,' בריה 'food given to an invalid,' 2 Sam. 3$_{35}$ 12$_{17}$ 13$_{5-7.\ 10}$.

[25] In another place (*Über die Verwandtschaft S + Da + Je* [*i.e.* the older Saul-David narrative] *und des jahvistischen Geschichtswerks*, Berlin, 1904) I have attempted to show that a close relationship of the older Saul-David narrative to the Jahvist document, so far as vocabulary and phraseology are concerned, is not to be dogmatically asserted. J words and phrases are often found in the older Saul-David version, but they are found just as often in the younger strata of the Books of Samuel. E words, also, are frequently found in the older version. Thus the use of the verbal suffix (J) as against the use of the *nota acc.* with suffix (E) is found in the younger version almost as often as in the older. שחה (J 17 times, as against E 8 times and D 3 times) is used in the older version 43 times, in the younger 34. שפחה (J) as against אמה (E) is found frequently in both the older and younger versions, while אמה (E) is used 13 times in the older version (supposedly J) and only twice in the younger. יש (J) is used more often in the younger than in the older version. יָלַד (E) is used 11 times in 2 Sam. 12$_{15}$ff. (part of the older version) as against נטר (J) once. כרבים האלה (J) is found in the younger stratum, and כדבר הזה (also used by E) predominates in the older. עקר ("stehender Ausdruck bei J," Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 416) is not found in the older stratum, but appears in the younger.

Table of Characteristic Words and Phrases

Abbreviations: S = the first division (Saul); Da = the second division (David); Je = the third division (David in Jerusalem); SS = the later account of Saul and Samuel in the Books of Samuel; Ephr. = the older account in 1 Samuel which Kautzsch designates as the "im Reiche Ephraim verfasste Erzählung," *i.e.* 41b-18a. 19-21 5 61-14. 15. 18b-71; D = the older and Dt the younger Deuteronomist; 1 Sam. is cited by mere chapter and verse; II = 2 Sam. † indicates that all the passages have been cited. The other abbreviations are familiar.

1. אולי with יעשה 14^{6} S, II 14^{15} Je; elsewhere only in Jer. 21^{2} and Hos. 8^{7}. Cf. אולי יניד לנו 9^{6} S; also II 16^{12} Je.
2. אור of the eyes, 14$^{27. 29}$ S, impersonal ואור לכם 29^{10} Da, ואר להם II 23^{2} Da. Elsewhere the Qal is used only in Gen. 44^{3a} E, Is. 60^{1} Prov. 4^{18}.
3. עד אור הבקר 14^{36} S, 25$^{22. 34. 36}$ Da, II 17^{22} Je; elsewhere only Jud. 16^{2} and 2 Kings 7^{9}.
4. כאחד as a form of comparison, II 2^{18} Da, 6^{20} 9^{11} 13^{13} Je (also 17^{36} SS); Gen. 32^{2} 49^{16} all J; Jud. 16$^{7. 11}$ 17^{11} 1 Kings 19^{2} 22^{13}. Elsewhere in Ezek., Ob., Ps., Job, and 2 Chr. each once.
5. איש גדול מאד 'rich,' 'geradezu reich,' 25^{2} Da, II 19^{33} Je, elsewhere only in Ex. 11^{3} E. Cf. איש חכם מאר II 13^{3} Je.
6. אנשיו cf. on ch. 24 above.
7. איש לאהליו always at the end of the sentence, 13^{2} S, II 18^{17} 19^{9} 20$^{1. 22}$ (before Athnach) Je; elsewhere only Jud. 7^{8} 1 Sam. 4^{10} Eph. (both before Zaqeph-qaton), and in 2 Kings and 2 Chr. each once. איש לביתו appears in 1 Sam. 10^{25} redac., but also in II 6^{19} Je, Jud. 20^{8}, in the Chronicler three times, 1 Kings

לבב (instead of לב, J), which does not appear in J (Strack, *Einleitung*) is found 5 times in the older version. Of 34 other recognized E words, 25 appear *only* in the older stratum. Numerous other instances of J words in the younger and of E words in the older stratum are noticed. It seems to me more exact to regard the earlier Saul-David account as older than the J document. That both J and E words and phrases are found in this writing is natural: the author was simply drawing on the general stock of Hebrew words as the J and E and D and Isaian writers did later.

twice and Hagg. 1₉. איש לדרכו 1 Kings 1₄₉ Je, א׳ לעירו 1 Sam. 8₂₂ SS.

8. וכל הארץ metaphorically in reference to the people, 14₂₅ₐ S (the phrase remains even although the verse is otherwise emended, cf. Wellhausen, *Text*, p. 91, and Budde, *Komm.*, p. 97), 2 Sam. 15₂₃ Je; elsewhere only in Gen. 41₅₇ E and 1 Sam. 17₄₆ SS. H. P. Smith (p. 118) remarks, referring to 14₂₅, that the phrase is impossible because כל הא׳ is never used as descriptive of "the people," and therefore, against Driver, *Text*, p. 85, also questions 2 Sam. 15₂₃. Smith overlooks the use of כל הא׳ in Gen. 11₁ 19₃₁ both J.

9. אתמול (inst. of תמול) adv. 'yesterday,' 10₁₁ 14₂₁ S II 5₂ Da; elsewhere only 1 Sam. 4₇ Ephr. 19₇ SS and Ps. 90₄.

10. באש Niph. 'to make oneself hated' 13₄ S, II 10₆ and 16₂₁ Je. Not again in O. T. Hiph. 1 Sam. 27₁₂ Da. Budde cites the Hiph. also Gen. 34₃₀ J, Ex. 5₂₁ Je. Hiph. elsewhere infrequently.

11. בכה with נשא קול 24₁₇ 30₄ II 3₃₂ Da, plur. 11₄ S, II 13₃₆ Je. Elsewhere only in J Gen. 27₃₈ 29₁₁ (cf. 45₂ₐ); in E Gen. 21₁₆ and pl. Jud. 2₄ 21₂ Job 2₁₂.

12. בליעל with איש 25₂₅ 30₂₂ Da, II 16₇ 20₁ Je; elsewhere only Prov. 16₂₇. בן בלי only 1 Sam. 2₁₂ SS 10₂₇ Redac. 25₁₇ Da. בת בלי only 1 Sam. 1₁₆ SS.

13. בן מות 20₃₁ Da, II 12₅ Je (also 1 Sam. 26₁₆ SS). Cf. איש מ׳ 2 Sam. 19₂₉ 1 Kings 2₂₆ Je †.

14. ברה 'to give a mourner or invalid something to eat,' with double acc. Hiph. 2 Sam. 3₃₅ Da, 13₅ Je. Qal 12₁₇ 13₆. ₁₀ Je. Not again in O. T.

15. . . . ברוך יהוה אשר 25₃₂. ₃₉ Da, II 18₂₈ 1 Kings 1₄₈ Je; elsewhere only Ex. 18₁₀ E, 1 Kings 8₁₅. ₅₆ (cf. 10₉), post-ex. 7 times.

16. לברך 25₁₄ Da, II 6₂₀ 1 Kings 1₄₇ Gen. 27₃₀ₐ J, Num. 24₁ Je, Josh. 8₃₃ Dt, in Deut. 27₁₂, and in 1 Chr. twice †.

17. בשר without an object, II 1₂₀ 4₁₀ Da, 18₂₀ *bis*, ₂₆ Je; elsewhere Isa. twice, Nah. and Ps. once each. With

טוב only in 1 Kings 1^{42} Je. Cf. Isa. 52^{7}. With the acc. of the person 'to rejoice because of good news,' 1 Sam. 31^{9} Da, II 18^{19} Je †. 1 Sam. 41^{7} has the ptcp. (SS).

18. בכל נבול ישראל 11$^{3.\ 7}$ S, 27^{1} Da, 1 Kings 1^{3} Je; elsewhere only Jud. 19^{29} 2 Sam. 21^{5} 2 Kings 10^{32} and 1 Chr. 21^{12}. Without יש in J, Ex. 10$^{14.\ 19}$ and Jud. 11^{22} †.

19. גבר 'to be stronger than,' 'to overreach,' with מן, II 1^{23} Da (Ps. 65^{4}), with על 2 Sam. 11^{23} Je, and Gen. 49^{26} J †.

20. גמל cf. on ch. 24 above.

21. און with גלה 9^{15} S, 20^{2} 22^{8} *bis*, 17 Da; elsewhere only 20$^{12.\ 13}$ (late redac.), II 7^{27} Dt, Isa. 22^{14}, and post-ex. 4 times. Budde (*Komm.* p. 62) says this phrase appears "gerade in unserer Quelle öfter, sonst selten." He cites 20$^{12.\ 13}$ as in the "Quelle," whereas in *SBOT* he designates these two verses as a later addition.

22. הלאה in reference to space, 10^{3} S, and 20$^{22.\ 37}$ Da; elsewhere only in J Gen. 19^{9}, JE 35^{21}, P Num. 17^{2} 32^{19}, and in Jer. and Am. each once. In reference to time, 1 Sam. 18^{9}, and Lev. 22^{27} Num. 15^{23} both P, Ezek. twice, and Isa. once †.

23. הלך with רב 'constantly increasing,' 14^{19} S, II 15^{12} Je. Not again in O. T. Cf. II 5^{10} Da, also II 3^{24}.

24. זעק בקול גדול cf. on ch. 28 above.

25. חגור 'girdle,' 18^{4} Da, II 20^{8} Je, Prov. 31^{24} †.

26. חי before the noun, as a form of swearing, for emphasis, when the oath is made before a fellow being, with חי יי and נפש, only in 20^{3} 25^{26} Da, II 11^{11} (חי = יי) 15^{21} Je, 2 Kings 2$^{2.\ 4.\ 6}$ Dt, and 4^{30}. Cf. 17^{55} SS.

27. חיל with בן 14^{52} S, 18^{17} II 2^{7} 23^{20} Da, 13^{28} 17^{10}, 1 Kings 1^{52} Je; elsewhere only Deut. 3^{18} Jud. 18^{2} 2 Kings 2^{16}, and post-ex. 4 times. איש חיל 31^{12} II 24^{9} 1 Kings 1^{42}, plur. II 11^{16}, and otherwise often. With גבור 9^{1} referring to Kish, 16^{18} to David. Elsewhere only Jud. 11^{1} 2 Kings 5^{1}, in Jer. once, post-ex. 22 times.

28. הלילה אם cf. on ch. 24 above.

29. חלק 'to divide among themselves' 30^{24} Da, II 19^{30} Je, post-ex. 3 times†. In other meaning seldom, cf. חֵלֶק 30^{24} *bis*, II 20^{1} and הלקה II 14$^{30.\ 31}$ 23$^{11.\ 12}$ (in the latter sense seldom).

30. חמם: חם היום (כ) 11^{11} S, II 4^{5} Da, Gen. 18^{1} J†.

31. חמש II 2^{23} 3^{27} Da, 20^{10} Je; not elsewhere in O. T. (II 4^{6} read with Wellh. (*Text*) and LXX וְחִמְּם וְחִשְּׁחֶן and Gen. 47^{26} read with Kittel and LXX לְחֻמֶּשׁ לְפַרְעֹה).

32. חנה with על 'to besiege a city' 11^{1} S, II 12^{28} Je, elsewhere 6 times.

33. חרב with אכל II 2^{26} Da, 11^{25} 18^{8} Je, elsewhere only Deut. 32^{42} Jer. 4 times, Isa. and Nah. twice.

34. ויחר לי strengthened by מאד 18^{8}, II 3^{8} Da, 13^{21} Je; elsewhere only in J Gen. 4^{5} 34^{7} and in P Num. 16^{15}; without מאד cf. Gen. 31^{36} E and 1 Sam. 15^{11} SS. ויחר with אף 11^{6} (taken by Nowack as a gloss), 20^{30} (LXX suggest מאד after ביונתן), II 12^{5} Je, and Num. 1^{10} J.

35. חרפה 11^{2} S, 25^{39} Da, II 13^{13} Je; elsewhere in J Gen. 34^{14}, in E 30^{23}, in JE Josh. 5^{9}, in the Prophets 26 times, post-ex. often, esp. in the Pss.

36. חשך 'to restrain' with acc. of the pers., II 18^{16} Je, Isa. and Jer. each once, post-ex. 4 times†; with מן 'to hold back from' 1 Sam. 25^{39} Da; elsewhere only in E, Gen 20^{6}, post-ex. twice.

37. טוב adv. 'it is well' 20^{7}, II 3^{13} Da, 1 Kings 2$^{18.\ 38.\ 42}$ Je.

38. טעם 'to taste a little,' 14$^{24.\ 29.\ 43}$ S, II 3^{35} Da, Jon. 3^{7}†; 'to relish,' II 19^{36} Je, post-ex. 4 times†.

39. ביד with שלח 11^{7} S, 16^{20} Da, II 10^{2} 11^{14} 12^{25} 1 Kings 2^{25} Je, in J Gen. 38^{20}, in JE Ex. 4^{13}, in Dt. 2 Kings 17^{13}, in Jer. once, post-ex. 7 times†. ביד with נתן יהוה appears often.

40. לי with *nomen propr.* and ויוסף עוד, always at the beginning of the sentence, 23^{4}, II 2^{22} Da, 18^{22}, pl. 5^{22} Je (II 6^{1} according to Wellh., *Text*, p. 166 and LXX is to be read יאמרו). This phrase appears elsewhere only in J Gen. 18^{29}, in Jud. 9^{37} Ps. 78^{17} (without *nomen propr.*). Cf. Num. 22^{15} JE, Jud. 11^{14}, and 1 Sam. 3^{6} SS.

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41. ירד interrog., 14^{37} S, 23^{11} 30^{15} Da †, used in the first two passages in connection with asking of God.

42. ירה Hiph. 'to throw the arrow,' 20^{20}. ^{36} *bis* Da, II 11^{20} Je; 2 Kings 19^{32} = Isa. 37^{33} †.

43. ישר metaphor. 'to be satisfying,' 'pleasing,' only in the connection ישר בעיני. Thus in Num. 23^{27} E, Jud. 14$^{3.\ 7}$ 1 Kings 9^{12} Jer. 18^{4} 27^{5}. In S, Da, and Je, however, הדבר is always placed between ישר and בעיני, 1 Sam. 18$^{20.\ 26}$ 2 Sam. 17^{4} (thus also 1 Chr. 13^{4} 2 Chr. 30^{4}). ישר בעיני does not appear elsewhere in the O. T.

44. יתר העם 13^{2} S, II 10^{10} 12^{28} Je, Jud. 7^{6}, post-ex. 8 times †. Accord. to LXX this phrase appeared also in 1 Sam. 13^{15} S.

45. כבה Pi. metaphor. 'to extinguish,' 2 Sam. 14^{7} Je ('to blot out a family name'), 21^{17} 'to extinguish the light of Israel' (*i.e.* David). In this metaphor. use the phrase occurs in the Prophets 6 times and in Cant. once.

46. כי אז as mark of the apodosis with לולא II 2^{27} Da, with 19^{7} (cf. 5^{24}) Je, Koenig (*Syntax*, paragraph 415 *o*) marks 2 Sam. 2^{27} 19^{7} and Job 11^{15} with †; cf. עתה 14^{30} after לו, and *Gesen.-Kautzsch*, par. 159 *ee*. אף כי 14^{30} S (the text of 21^{6} is corrupt), II 4^{11} Da, 16^{11} Je, in J Gen. 3^{1}, pre-ex. 7 times and post-ex. 13 times. הלוא כי 20^{30}, II 2^{26} 3^{38} Da, 13^{28} 19^{23} 1 Kings 1^{11} Je (1 Sam. 10^{1} is to be read according to LXX, cf. Wellh., *Text*, p. 72). Elsewhere only Jud. 15^{11}. ראה כי 13^{6} S, II 10^{14} 17^{23} Je; cf. Jud. 20^{41} 1 Kings 3^{28} and Esth. 7^{7} †.

47. כלה מת cf. on ch. 24 above.

48. כלי as weapons of armament always with נשא 14$^{1.\ 6\ f.\ 12\text{-}14.\ 17}$ S, 31$^{4\text{-}6}$, pl. 16^{21}, II 23^{37} Da, 18^{15} Je. This phrase appears elsewhere only in Jud. 9^{54} and in 1 Chr. three times.

49. לב with שם 9^{20} S, 25^{25} Da, II 18^{3} *bis*, 19^{20} Je; elsewhere only Ex. 9^{21} Je, Isa. 3 times, Ezek. twice, Jer. and Zach. each once, post-ex. 6 times. לבב with שם Deut. 11^{18} 32^{46} 1 Sam. 21^{13} (later add.) and in Hagg.

4 times (Budde, *Komm.* p. 186, in 29^{10}, with LXX, supplies שם לבב. On his theory that Da = J, he should have written לב, the J form, instead of לבב, which does not appear in J).

50. לוש cf. on ch. 28 above.

51. למי 9^{20} S, 30^{13}, II 3^{12} Da, 16^{19} Je; elsewhere only Gen. 38^{25} J, 32^{18} *bis* E, Ex. 32^{24} JE, in Isa. once and post-ex. 6 times.

52. ויקה . . . וישלח II 3^{15} Da, 9^{5} 11^{4} Je, Gen. 8^{9} J, Jud. 15^{15} 2 Kings 6^{7} Jer. 37^{17} †; cf. also Ezek. 8^{3}.

53. עד מאד increasing the absolute superlative sense, 11^{15} S, 25^{36}, II 2^{17} Da, 1 Kings 1^{4} Je, Gen. 27^{33} t. E; post-ex. 11 times, although the later usage is usually מאד מאד and במאד מאד.

54. למאות ולאלפים 29^{2} Da, II 18^{4} Je.† מאה as a military division is used only here and Nu. 31^{48}. אלף with ל appears again only in 10^{19} S.

55. מאן see on ch. 28 above.

56. אי מזה 25^{11} 30^{13}, II 1^{3} Da, 15^{2} Je. (II 1^{13} is perhaps influenced by vs. 3.) Elsewhere only in Jud. 13^{6} and post-ex. Gen. 16^{8}, Jon. and Job each once.

57. מזה . . . מזה with מן 14^{4} S, 23^{26} Da, Ex. 25^{19} 37^{8} both P†; with על II 2^{13} Da; cf. with אל 1 Sam. 17^{3} SS.

58. מלאך אלהים 29^{9} Da, II 14$^{17.\ 20}$ 19^{23} Je; again only in E (Gen. 21^{17} 31^{11} Ex. 14^{19a}) and in Jud. 6^{20} 13$^{6.\ 9}$. מלאך יהוה does not appear in the Books of Samuel, with the exception of II 24^{16}.

59. מעיל see on ch. 28 above.

60. מצא with יד 10^{7} S, 25^{8} Da, and Jud. 9^{33}†; cf. Ps. 21^{9} Koh. 9^{10}. מצא חן 16^{22} 20$^{3.\ 29}$ 25^{8} 27^{5} Da, II 14^{22} 15^{25} 16^{4} Je (also 1 Sam. 1^{18} SS). According to Holzinger and Strack מצא חן is a favorite expression of J.

61. מצודה cf. on ch. 24 above.

62. מר נפש 22^{2} 30^{6} Da, II 17^{8} Je; elsewhere only 1^{10} SS, Jud. 18^{25}, Job 4 times, Isa., Ezek., and Prov. each once.

63. משל see on ch. 24 above.

64. נבל יין 10^{3} S, 25^{18} Da, II 16^{1} Je, again only 1^{24} SS; cf. Jer. 13^{12} *bis*.

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65. הגישה דאשור 14^{18} (according to LXX; cf. Wellh., *Text*, p. 89, and others) S, 23^{9} 30^{7} Da. Not again in O. T.

66. נגיד see above, p. 124, note 24.

67. נגף with את and יהוה 25^{38} Da, II 12^{15} Je, Ex. 32^{35} JE, Jud. 20^{35}, and 2 Chr. 14^{11}†.

68. מַצָּב 'military post,' 13^{23} 14$^{1.\ 4.\ 6.\ 11\ f.\ 15}$ S, II 23^{14} Da. Not elsewhere in the O. T.

69. נקם with איב 14^{24} S, 18^{25} Da; elsewhere only Josh. 10^{13} JE, Isa. 1^{24}, Ps. twice, Esther once.

70. נשא קול see above, no. 11, and on ch. 24.

71. סבב 'to turn around,' 'to draw near,' 22$^{17.\ 18}$ Da, II 18$^{15.\ 30}$ 1 Kings 2^{15} Je (cf. 22$^{17.\ 18}$, II 18^{15}, 'to draw near to kill'†).

72. עדר Niph. 'to find wanting,' 30^{19} Da, II 17^{22} Je; elsewhere only Isa. 3 times, Zeph. once.

73. העון 25^{24} Da, II 14^{9} Je, in both places an admission of guilt; elsewhere only Isa. 3 times.

74. ערל as a name of reproach for the Philistines, without פלשתים 14^{6} S, 31^{4}, II 1^{20} Jud. 15^{18} 1 Chr. 10^{4}†. With פלשתים 17$^{26.\ 36}$ SS, Jud. 14^{3}†.

75. כה יעשה אלהים וכה יוסיף 14^{44} S, 25^{22}, II 3$^{9.\ 35}$ Da, 19^{14} 1 Kings 2^{23} Je. Elsewhere only 1 Sam. 3^{17} SS, 1 Kings 20^{10} and 2 Kings 6^{31}. This phrase with יהוה instead of with אלהים appears in 20^{13} (gloss) and Ru. 1^{17}.

76. פגע with ב 'to fall upon one,' 'to kill,' 22$^{17.\ 18}$ Da, 1 Kings 2$^{25.\ 29.\ 31\ f.\ 34.\ 46}$ Je. Elsewhere only Ex. 5^{3} JE, II 1^{15} redac., Jud. 3 times.

77. פוץ 'to spread out,' in reference to a crowd, 11^{11} 14^{34} S, II 20^{22} Je, and Gen. 11^{4} J†.

78. פִּסֵּחַ 'lame' II 5$^{6.\ 8}$ Da, 9^{13} 19^{27} Je; elsewhere Isa. and Mal. twice, Lev., Deut., Jer., Job, and Prov. once each.

79. פרץ see on ch. 28 above. Budde (*Komm.*) says that פרץ in 28^{23} is the same form as פצר and a characteristic word of J. פצר appears Gen. 19$^{3.\ 9}$ 33^{11} (all J) Jud. 19^{7} 2 Sam. 13$^{25.\ 27}$; elsewhere only 2 Kings 2^{17} 5$^{16.\ 23}$.

80. מִצַּד 'to the side of' 20^{25} (cf. Ru. 2^{14}) 23^{26} Da, II 13^{34} Je. See further Josh. 3^{16} JE, 12^{9} P, Ps. 91^{7}. מִצַּד elsewhere is used only in connection with the ark of Jahveh. Cf. also Ezek. 4^{8}. צַד in 20^{20} is perhaps to be stricken out, see Budde, *SBOT*, instead of reading a gen. without מִן as Buhl (*Handwörterbuch*) does.

81. צוּם 31^{13}, II 1^{12} Da, 12$^{16.\ 21-23}$ Je; elsewhere only 7^{6} Dt, Jud. 20^{26} 1 Kings 21^{27} Isa. twice, Jer. once, post-ex. 6 times.

82. צִפָּה 14^{16} S, II 13^{34} 18$^{24-27}$ 2 Kings 9$^{17\ f.\ 20}$ †.

83. יָצַר לְ 30^{6} Da, II 13^{2} Je, Gen. 32^{8} J, Jud. 2^{15} 10^{9} and Job 20^{22} †. Cf. Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 715.

84. קוּד see on ch. 24 above.

85. קוּם impv. asyndet. preceding another imperative to introduce a command 9^{3} S, 23^{4} Da, II 13^{15} 19^{8} Je, also 1 Sam. 16^{12} SS. Cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 187.

86. לִקְרַאת . . . וְהִנֵּה 9^{14} 10^{10} S, 25^{20} Da, II 15^{32} 16^{1} Je (in 10^{10} and II 15^{32} without the verb). Elsewhere Ex. 4^{14} JE, Jud. 11^{34} 14^{5} 1 Kings 18^{7} Prov. 7^{10}.

87. הַקְּרוּאִים 9$^{13.\ 22}$ S, 1 Kings 1$^{41.\ 49}$ Je.

88. רוּשׁ 18^{23} Da, II 12$^{1.\ 3\ f.}$ Je; Koh. and Ps. and Prov.†

89. שָׂחַק Pi. 'to dance with song and harp-playing' 18^{7} Da, II 6$^{5.\ 21}$ Je, 1 Chr. 13^{8} 15^{29}. See Jer. 30^{19} 31^{4}.

90. שְׂעָרָה only 7 times in the O. T. In the expression "not a hair shall fall to the ground," only 14^{33} S, II 14^{11} 1 Kings 1^{52} Je.

91. שָׁאַב 'to draw water' (with the acc. מַיִם), 9^{11} S, II 23^{16} Da, Gen. 24^{13} J, Deut. 29^{10}, Josh. 9^{21} P, 1 Sam. 7^{6} Dt, in Isa, and Nah. each once, post-ex. twice.

92. שָׁאַל see on ch. 28 above.

93. שִׁפְחָתְךָ see on ch. 28 above.

94. שִׁפְחָתוֹ מִיד see on ch. 24 above.

From the foregoing study more or less characteristic words and phrases are found as follows:

Peculiar to S and Da, nos. 2, 21, 22, 30, 41, 57, 60, 63, 65, 68, 69, 74, 91.

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Peculiar to S and Je, nos. 1, 7–9, 23, 32, 44, 77, 82, 87.

Peculiar to Da and Je, nos. 4–6, 12–17, 19, 20, 24–26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 67, 71–73, 76, 78–81, 83, 84, 88, 89, 93, 94.

Peculiar to S, Da, and Je, nos. 3, 10, 11, 18, 27, 35, 38, 39, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 64, 66, 70, 75, 85, 86, 90, 92.

The large number of similarities in Da and Je is of course to be accounted for on the ground that these two divisions are so much larger in content than either S and Da or S and Je.

A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job

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I

THE religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria, for which we are still largely dependent[1] upon the literary collection made by the Assyrian king Ashurbanapal (668–626 B.C.) in his palace at Nineveh, may be divided, so far as our present knowledge goes, into five large groups: (1) oracles and omens, (2) incantations, (3) prayers and hymns, (4) ritualistic texts, and (5) myths and legends. Of these five groups the most extensive appears to have been the omen-literature, which covers a vast domain, and furnishes evidence that the Babylonians and Assyrians developed the interpretation of signs connected with phenomena in the heavens or on earth into a science, dominated by sets of principles hardly less extensive than those prevailing in the natural sciences of our day, though of a different order. The observation and interpretation of signs covered the movements of the sun and moon, the position of the planets, the direction of winds, the formation of the clouds, noticeable occurrences among men and animals, the flight of birds and appearance of insects, the mysterious movements of serpents, the actions of dogs, monstrosities and birthmarks

[1] The hope that through excavations on the sites of ancient Babylonian cities extensive literary archives would be discovered in the temples has not been realized, and there are good grounds for questioning whether, with the exception of the Marduk temple in the city of Babylon, and perhaps also of the Nebo temple at Borsippa, the Babylonian temples possessed extensive literary archives. See the author's paper, "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxvii. pp. 147–182.

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among men and animals, and the inspection of the liver of animals offered up for sacrifice, — an enumeration that by itself illustrates the wide scope of the omen-texts.[2] Closely allied in spirit to the collection of omens, and only some degrees less extensive, were the incantation-texts.[3] These were based on the endeavor to control, to invoke, and to exorcise powerful and, in general, evil-disposed spirits, and to heal disease, — believed to be due to the presence in the body of evil and unclean spirits, — by the use of certain formulæ together with purification rites in some form or other.[4] By the observation and interpretation of omens it was hoped to forestall the future, while the incantations aimed at undoing mischief already wrought. With each of these two branches of the religious literature a genuine scientific discipline was entwined, — astronomy with the former, because of the supposed connection between phenomena in the heavens and occurrences on earth, and medicine with the latter, since as knowledge advanced, the beneficent qualities of certain herbs and concoctions were recognized as a valuable adjunct to the sacred formulæ. The incantations pass over almost imperceptibly into prayers and hymns. The appeal to the gods was through incantations, and although the power of the incantations was down to the latest days supposed to reside in the words themselves rather than in the sentiments conveyed through the words, the incantations finally took on the form of prayers. It is significant for the close connection between incantations and prayers that while in both earlier and later times prayers were produced independently of incantations, the technical term for incantation, *šiptu*, continued to cling to the prayers

[2] See chap. xx in the forthcoming parts of the author's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* for a full exposition of omen-texts. This work will henceforth in this article be quoted briefly as *Jastrow*.

[3] Weber (*Dämonenbeschwörung bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 4) is of the opinion that the incantations form the most extensive branch of the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria, but Bezold's index to the *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection* decides the claim in favor of the omen-texts.

[4] See *Jastrow*, chap. xvi, and Weber's capital sketch just referred to.

when combined with incantations, and it is also worthy of note that some of the finest prayers were embodied in incantations.[5] The ritual texts deal chiefly with the ceremonies prescribed for purging oneself from sin or contamination through evil spirits.[6] Rites were also prescribed in connection with the inspection of animals so as to secure the correct interpretation of the omens to be derived from the signs on the liver of the animals offered up, whether as daily offerings, or on festivals, or other special occasions.

All of these four subdivisions of the religious literature are closely bound up with the official cult as carried on in the Babylonian and Assyrian temples, and form an integral part of it. This official character is emphasized by the fact that the omens as interpreted bear largely on affairs of state or on the fate and welfare of the rulers and members of the royal household. The prayers likewise were composed in large degree for the king, upon whose well being and proper observance of necessary ceremonials the welfare of the entire country depended.[7] The lay individual was, to be sure, not entirely overlooked in the incantations and omens, but his interests were made subsidiary to those of the ruler. If the gods were well-disposed towards the king, the subjects had little to fear from divine caprice, and while it may be that in the course of time it became common for individuals to repair to the temples to secure through the priests release from suffering, forgiveness of sins, or answers to inquiries by means of the omens gathered from the inspection of the liver of sacrificial animals, or guidance in the proper under-

[5] Examples in King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, especially nos. 1, 2, 27; IV R², pl. 17; 20, no. 2, etc. The fine penitential prayer to Ishtar published by King (*Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 222–237, and ii. pl. 75–84) is designated as a *šiptu*, as is also the impressive prayer to Shamash published by Craig, *Assyr. and Babyl. Religious Texts*, ii. pl. 3–5, etc. See also some of the hymns in the *šurpu* and *maḫû* series of incantations, translations of which will be found in *Jastrow*, i. pp. 297, 306, 317, 321 ff., 332.

[6] A good use of these ritual texts for the unfolding of the Babylonian doctrine of sin has been made by Julian Morgenstern in his monograph, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion*, Berlin, 1905.

[7] The position of the king in Babylonia fully bears out Frazer's theories embodied in his *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, London, 1905.

standing of more or less unusual happenings to individuals, yet in the official cult only restricted recognition was given to the demands and needs of the people. It was their function to provide through tithes and offerings the means for the sustenance of the priests, and, for the rest, to make the best terms that they could with the gods through unofficial relations with the priests.

The connection of the fifth subdivision of the religious literature — the myths and legends — with the official cult might at first sight appear less obvious, but the evidence is now accumulating that on stated occasions, such as New Year's Day, or on festival days in honor of the gods, in addition to sacrifices with purification to placate the gods or to forestall their displeasure, tales representing the more or less popular form given to old myths were recited, accompanied in some instances by dramatic representations.[8] The festival legend, of which, as Haupt has recently shown,[9] the Book of Esther furnishes a notable example in Biblical literature, can, indeed, be traced back to Babylonia. The main version of the Babylonian creation-story, celebrating in its present form[10] the great deed of Marduk in vanquishing Tiamat, appears to have been written as part of the ritual for the New Year's festival,[11] which in Babylon was sacred to Marduk. By analogy we may be permitted to conclude that the other versions of the creation-story current in one or another of the religious centers of Babylonia represent the festival legends prescribed for occasions in the year sacred to other gods. Besides creation-myths proper, we have tales of Ninib, Bel, Ishtar, Sin, and Shamash that may in a general way be designated as nature-myths, symbolizing

[8] See *Jastrow*, i. p. 465, and the reference there given to Zimmern, to whom the suggestion regarding the dramatic representation of myths is due. See also Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 34.

[9] "Purim" (Presidential address before the Society of Biblical Literature, Dec. 27, 1905), in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vi. 2. See esp. pp. 3, 21 ff.

[10] See the writer's article, "The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story," in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, vol. ii. pp. 969–982.

[11] A further discussion of this view will be found in the forthcoming chap. xxiv of the writer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*.

either the changes of season or other occurrences in nature, and it can, I think, be shown that these too were prepared for use in the cult on specific occasions.[12] It is not beyond the range of possibility that even the elaborate Gilgamesh epic was written for such a purely practical purpose, though it may be that this only applies to certain strata within that composite production. It is to be noted also that the myths and legends of Babylonia and Assyria may be said to have a doctrinal import (or *Tendenz*, to use the more expressive German term). The story of Marduk and Tiamat, apart from the underlying myth, illustrates the doctrine of the theologians of Babylon that the gods stand for law and order; the story of Ishtar's descent to the lower world and her escape shows the possibility of eluding the grasp of the powers presiding over the world of the dead, and thus foreshadows, if it does not actually illustrate, the doctrine of a better fate for mankind than to be imprisoned in Aralu; the story of Ut-napishtim's rescue from the disastrous flood[13] enforces the doctrine that under exceptional conditions even mortals can acquire the boon of immortality which is the prerogative of the gods; the apparition of the dead Eabani to Gilgamesh[14] is made the medium for the teaching that proper care of the dead is essential to such comfort as is possible for these unfortunates in the dark cave, and so on.[15] But over and above this doctrinal aim to be observed in these tales is their connection with the cult. In a religious system so complicated and in a cult so elaborate as the one unfolded and developed in the course of long ages in the Euphrates Valley, with its many sacred occasions,

[12] So, for example, the tale of Ishtar's descent into the nether world and her escape from that region (revised edition in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part xv. pl. 45–47) was utilized for a Babylonian All Souls' Day, as already suggested by Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen von dem Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 7 ff.

[13] Tablet 11 of the Gilgamesh Epic; see Jensen's translation, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi. 1, pp. 228 ff.

[14] Tablet 12; see Jensen, pp. 256 ff.

[15] See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, pp. 513 ff., 527, 551 f. Further illustrations in the forthcoming chap. xxvii of the author's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*.

its festivals and fasts, it is reasonable to suppose that the doctrine illustrated by any particular tale fitted in with the character that one or another of these sacred days had acquired. Its recitation would therefore form an appropriate feature of the ritual prescribed for the occasion in question. Without entering into further details, we may content ourselves here with the general conclusion that the myths and legends of Babylonia and Assyria, like the other divisions of the religious literature, stood in a direct and close relationship to the cult, and were — with perhaps some exceptions — composed with some practical purpose in view.

II

These preliminary remarks, illustrative of the practical purposes served by the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria, will help us to an understanding of one of the most remarkable texts in Ashurbanapal's collection, which at first sight might appear to be a purely literary production independent of any purpose, but which upon closer study reveals itself as a didactic composition in which the story of a great sufferer is utilized for the elucidation of certain religious doctrines, and, incidentally, for the discussion of the same problem that confronts us in the Book of Job, to wit, the cause of the ills that human flesh is heir to. Moreover, the composition, closely allied as we shall see to a subdivision of the Babylonian hymnal literature, for which the term "lamentation songs" suggests itself as appropriate,[16] and indeed based on such "lamentations," strikes one as having been set up for use in connection with an atonement ritual, or for a day of the year specially set aside for securing divine forgiveness for sins committed. Its place in the ritual would, on this supposition, form a close parallel to the usage in the early Jewish ritual which prescribed the reading of the Books of Esther, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes for Purim, the Passover, Pentecost, the Ninth Day of Ab, and the Ingathering Festival respectively, and would be a more remote parallel

[16] See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 3.

to the custom of selecting for the Sabbath and festivals selections from the prophetical literature appropriate to the portion from the Pentateuch prescribed for each Sabbath in the year and for festival days. At all events, the didactic character of the composition warrants the conclusion that it was utilized in some way in connection with the ritual of the Babylonian temples, as were the festal legends and myths.

The text, at least in part, has been known for some time. A section of it was published in the first edition of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. 1875.[17] A translation into Hebrew characters was given by Halévy a few years later,[18] and Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, which appeared in 1887, furnished a translation, placing the text among the "Litanies to the Gods."[19] In a communication to the London *Academy* for Jan. 21, 1888, Pinches recognized the importance of the text, and was more successful than Sayce in a general account of its contents, but he likewise missed the point, as we shall see, in his view that it treats of a divine being "whose path was glorious and worth following," who is apparently spoken of as having lived in the world, died, and risen again — "a prototype of the Messiah." In the same year Evetts[20] published a duplicate copy of the text, also of the Kouyunjik collection, with twenty-one additional lines, but refrained from any translation, contenting himself with the statement that it "defies all attempts at interpretation." A third copy was subsequently found in Ashurbanapal's collection,[21] and in the second edition of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. pl. 60*, all three copies (designated as A, B, and C) were published. The popularity which the

[17] Pl. 67, no. 2 (K 3972).

[18] *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*, Paris, 1882, pp. 195–197.

[19] *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 535–536. The translation is antiquated, and only a very few lines of it are correct.

[20] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, x. p. 478, with two plates. The second copy bears the number K 2518.

[21] D. T. 151.

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text must have enjoyed is further attested by the discovery of a duplicate in neo-babylonian characters among the tablets found by Scheil in 1894 within the precincts of the temple of Shamash at Sippar,[22] from which one may also conclude that the text was used in connection with the Shamash ritual as well as in the temple of Marduk at Babylon, from the archives of which presumably the three or four copies in Ashurbanapal's collection were taken.[23]

Although Delitzsch utilized the text in the preparation of

[22] Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, Cairo, 1900, p. 105. Scheil merely gave a transliteration of seven lines of the tablet. In response to a request Dr. L. Messerschmidt of the Royal Museum of Berlin very kindly made for me, during his sojourn in Constantinople in the summer of 1906, a copy of the entire reverse of the fragment, which reached me Oct. 3, 1906. In all thirty-one lines — in part or entire — remain of the reverse, corresponding to lines 1–26 of the reverse of copy B, and including the colophon which furnishes the opening line of the third tablet. In addition, the fragment furnishes seven lines which are not included in B or C, but of which two appear in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 53–54), so that the fragment furnishes us with five entirely new lines of the second tablet, which in B and C presumably belonged to the obverse. The division of lines in the Sippar fragment differs in several instances from B and C, which fact, together with the circumstance that the fragment contains a number of interesting variant readings, shows that the fragment reverts to a different original from the one after which the copies in Ashurbanapal's library were made, — unless indeed we are to assume that the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes in preparing their copies permitted themselves variations from their prototypes. This last supposition is not impossible, especially if in making the copies the original was read aloud to the scribe who wrote; but definite proof for it is not forthcoming, and it is for the present safer to assume different originals for variant copies. Dr. Messerschmidt, to whom I am under deep obligations, proposes to publish his copy of the fragment, which is a valuable aid in the study of the text. According to Dr. Messerschmidt only a few signs were legible on the obverse, and he was unable to find any correspondence between these and the obverse of copy A, B, or C. However, such correspondence in all probability exists, unless — what is most unlikely — the obverse of the Sippar fragment contains a part of the text belonging to the first tablet according to the Assyrian copies. Since only a few signs of the obverse of the fragment are to be seen, it is perhaps not surprising that a definite correspondence with A, B, or C could not be recognized by Dr. Messerschmidt.

[23] Two further fragments are registered by Bezold in his *Catalogue*, p. 450 (D.T. 358 and Sm. 1745), which, according to a collation kindly made for me by Mr. L. W. King, are duplicates of lines on the obverse of the

his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, and incidentally translated a number of lines from it, the credit of furnishing the first connected translation belongs to Zimmern, who included it in the specimens of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature in the second volume of *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed.), pp. 385–387. Zimmern introduces the translation in illustration of a suggestion thrown out by him that the prototype of the suffering "servant of the Lord" (*Ebed Jahveh*) of the Old Testament was to be found in Babylonian literature.[24] More recently he has published a somewhat modified translation,[25] laying stress this time on the fact that the lament of a sufferer constitutes the main theme of the text. Zimmern, however, fails to recognize that our text is only a part of a more extensive production, and through this failure misses both in his earlier and later version what I believe to be the correct interpretation. Two[26] of the three copies in the Kouyunjik collection contain a colophon which informs us that the text forms the second tablet of a series beginning:

I will praise the lord of wisdom,[27]

second tablet, the former joining on to B (K 2518), and furnishing ten lines that agree with C (K 3972), obv. 19–28, with two slight variations, the latter a duplicate of obv. 3–9 of B, agreeing with this text, where B differs from A (D.T. 151). Of text A, it may be added, only eleven lines of the obverse are preserved, whereas of the reverse nothing remains beyond five lines of the colophon. Sm. 1745 may therefore represent a fourth copy. But it may also be a portion of C, since of this text twenty lines at the beginning are wanting, including all those embodied in Sm. 1745.

[24] *Keilinschriften*[2], ii. p. 384.

[25] *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 27–31. It may be as well to add that my version of the text as given in the 9th part of *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. pp. 120–133 (including portions not included by Zimmern in his first translation) was printed before Zimmern's second translation reached me.

[26] B (K 2518) and C (K 3972), though the former preserves only the beginning of the line in question (B rev. 27 = C. rev. 25).

[27] [lud]-lul bêl ni-me-ḳi. See the interesting list, or catalogue, of texts, Rm 618, of which Bezold gives an extract in his *Catalogue*, p. 1627, and which mentions (l. 18) our series mu-kal-lim-tu ša lud-lul bêl ni-me-ḳi, *i.e.* extract of the series "I will praise the lord of wisdom"—incidentally another proof for both the existence and the popularity of the production in question.

and the opening line of the following tablet is also indicated as follows:

The pressure of his hands I can no longer endure.[28]

This of itself would not necessarily prove a continuous text, for in Reisner's collection of *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, Berlin, 1896, which are in the main "lamentation songs," colophons, though as we shall presently see of a somewhat different kind, are attached to tablets of a series representing originally independent compositions pieced together. Zimmern, in fact, regards our text as one of such a group of independent "lamentation songs," but a careful study of a most valuable commentary to the text which we are fortunate enough to possess among the tablets of Ashurbanapal's library,[29] furnishes the proof that the second tablet is not to be classed among "lamentation songs" (though modeled on them), and that it is actually part of a *continuous* composition. This enables us to determine approximately the probable extent of the composition, and to reconstruct it in its general outlines. This commentary, prepared for the guidance of the young aspirants to the priesthood in the temple school at Babylon[30] (or elsewhere), was noticed by Evetts,[31] and is utilized by Zimmern in his two translations. It forms, indeed, an invaluable aid to our text, for it furnishes

[28] **kab-ta-at ḳâtâ-su ul a-li-'i na-ša-ša** (C rev. 24), of which the first two syllables are preserved in B rev. 26. In the Sippar fragment **su** (of **ḳâtâ** or [**ḳât**]-**su**) and traces of the following **ul** are to be seen. The colophon in B is much longer than that in C, and also informs us that the tablet was copied from Assyrian and Babylonian copies (**gabri Aŝur u Akkad**), a valuable indication that the scribes of Ashurbanapal made copies from existing Assyrian copies, and not merely from Babylonian originals. On other occurrences of this phrase, see the writer's paper, "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?," *JAOS*, xxvii. p. 178, note 1.

[29] V Rawlinson, pl. 47.

[30] See the writer's paper, "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?," *JAOS*, xxvii. p. 169. Numerous commentaries of this kind are found in the Kouyunjik collection, showing that the Assyrian scribes obtained their knowledge of Babylonian literature largely from copies prepared for, or kept in, the temple schools. See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i. appendix, pp. 157–169, for a discussion and utilization of such school commentaries to the creation-story.

[31] *Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* x. p. 478.

explanations of difficult words by giving others in common use, and, incidentally, since the entire line of the text is generally given from which a particular word (or more than one) is singled out for explanation,[32] provides an aid to the determination and in some cases to the restoration of the text.

The second tablet, though on the whole well preserved, is unfortunately somewhat defective at the top of the obverse and end of the reverse. The commentary to the second tablet of our series is represented by lines 34 obv. to 3 rev., *i.e.* by 31 lines. By combining two of the copies of the second tablet — B and C — in connection with the fragment from Sippar and the commentary, we can estimate the length of the tablet at about 120 lines.[33] The first thirty lines of the obverse of the commentary cover therefore the first tablet, and assuming the proportion of text to commentary to have been about the same, we should similarly have about 120 lines as the length of the first tablet. This result is in accord with the general observation to be made that in the case of a text consisting of a series of tablets, the various tablets are of about the same length.[34]

[32] As an illustration of the commentary the explanation of the third line of the second tablet may be chosen, where, after the entire line is repeated, the first word ṣa-bur-tum is explained by what was apparently a more common term, ru-ub-tum "distress." (V Rawlinson, pl. 47, obv. 35.)

[33] Texts B and C in combination give 74 lines, the Sippar fragment 7 additional lines, and the commentary 5 lines not contained in B, C, or the Sippar fragment, making a total of 86, to which we are justified in adding 34 lines, since the lines of the commentary are as a general rule not continuous. So, for instance, between line 54 obv. of the commentary and line 56, representing the next line of the text to be commented on, there are five lines, as the Sippar fragment shows. This is below rather than above the average (*e.g.* between lines 43 and 44 obv. there intervene no less than 18 lines), so that a proportion of 34 lines of text to 5 lines of commentary is none too much. Of the 74 lines of B and C only 8 lines are commented upon — a proportion of about 1 to 9. For 5 lines this would be 45 lines. Adding this number to 81 (74 of B and C and 7 of the Sippar fragment), we obtain 126 lines as the length of the second tablet, so that 120 may be regarded as a safe minimum. Copy A need not enter into our calculations, since it preserves only 11 lines of the obverse, embodied in B.

[34] Thus, for instance, the seven tablets of the main version of the Babylonian creation-story are of about the same length, the longest being 146 lines, the shortest 138 lines.

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To continue our calculations, line 4 rev. of the commentary represents the opening line of the third tablet, as is shown by a comparison with the colophons attached to B, C, and the Sippar fragment.[35] Proceeding on the assumption, which appears now to be perfectly safe, that all the tablets of our series were of about the same length, the remaining 61 lines of the commentary would correspond to two tablets, which would give us therefore for the whole series — assuming, as we have a right to do, that the commentary consists of this one tablet only — four tablets of about 120 lines each, or 480 lines in all — a production of considerable extent as literary works in Babylonia and Assyria go. While the estimate for the total number of lines can in the nature of the case be only approximate,[36] the result of this calculation, so far as it relates to the number of tablets of which the series consisted, may be regarded as trustworthy.

[35] In text B the first word only of the opening line of the third tablet is preserved, but in C the entire line, which agrees with the text in the commentary except for two slight variations: (*a*) ḳâtâ (dual) in C, as against ḳâtu (sing.), (*b*) a-li-i in C as against a-li-'i. These are, however, important, as showing that the text upon which the commentary was based differed from C. There are various other similar slight variations from the copies in the commentary, pointing to an original which agreed with B rather than with C, or which may represent a fourth (or fifth) independent copy.

[36] This for two reasons: (1) The commentary occasionally comments on several continuous lines of the second tablet, and even in other portions the lines in the commentary (*e.g.* obv. 31–32) are continuous, so that only an average can be struck of the proportion between commentary and text. (2) While the commentary generally gives the text in one line and the comment in the following, very often text and comment are given in one and the same line, making it more difficult to secure more than an approximate average. Thus of 20 lines of the second tablet (or about one-sixth of the entire tablet) which are represented in the commentary, in 11 instances the comment appears in the same line as the text and in 9 in the following line, by means of which we get the 31 lines in question. This proportion does not in fact hold good for the rest of the commentary, so far as preserved, since of the remaining *circa* 49 lines distinguishable, 18 contain the comment and text in the same line. The result one way or the other, however, would not give us enough lines for a fifth tablet, but merely enough to make a difference of a few lines in the length of one or the other of the four tablets.

That these four tablets embody a single continuous composition, and not, as Zimmern[37] assumes, a collection of several independent texts, follows from a careful study of the indications in the lines quoted in the commentary as compared with the text of the second tablet. The colophon, with its catch line taken from the beginning of the first tablet,[38] already points in this direction. Collections of independent texts are marked in a different way. So, for example, the tablets of the texts published by Reisner under the title of *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*,[39] which for the most part belong to series that represent larger or smaller collections of originally independent "lamentation songs," are not enumerated according to the opening line of the first tablet, but are grouped together according to certain catchwords, indicating either the subdivision of lamentation songs to which they belong or the main theme introduced;[40] and although these texts in the form in which we have them represent copies prepared by temple pupils, we may feel certain that the method employed is in accord with established literary canons. Besides this external agreement, we have also confirmatory internal evidence that the tablets of this series must be taken together as constituting the parts of a single composition. Thus a description in the first tablet[41] of the manner in which by divine punishment the ears of the suffering individual were closed up, corresponds to a description in the third tablet of the restoration of

[37] See above, p. 144.

[38] duppu šanû [lud]-lul bêl ni-me-ḳi, *i.e.* second tablet of "I will praise the lord of wisdom." See above, p. 143.

[39] See above, p. 144.

[40] See Reisner's Introduction, especially pp. xvii ff.; his discussion of the colophons attached to his texts still leaves a number of important problems open.

[41] V R 47, obv. 22, which can be restored as follows:

[uznâ ša uṭṭamema us-sak]-ka-ra ḫa-šik-kiš e-me.

The restoration is suggested by a comparison with rev. 9, a line belonging to the third tablet:

uzna-a-a ša uṭ-ṭam-me-ma us-sak-ki-ra ḫa-šik-kiš

My ears he closed up, bolting them as a deaf man's.

hearing through the response of the god appealed to for relief. Again, the complaint which fills the second tablet is manifestly put into the mouth of a ruler, as is shown by a reference therein to subjects, to the palace, and to royal authority.[42] Corresponding to this the sufferer speaks of himself in a line preserved in the commentary from the first tablet as a king,[43] and similarly in the third tablet he is spoken of as "the strong ruler decked with the turban."[44] Furthermore, the account in the third and fourth tablets celebrating the release from sufferings endured directly, recalls at various points the description of these sufferings in the first and second tablets,[45] and in such a manner as to fortify the conclusion that the same sufferer is referred to throughout.

III

When we come to the composition itself, it is possible with the help of the commentary to supplement the preserved second tablet to the extent of restoring the general course of the narrative embodied in the composition. The suggestion has already been thrown out that the main per-

[42] IV R 60*, B obv. 29–32 where we encounter **mâtia** "my land," **nišê-ia** "my people," **šarru** "king," and **pulaḫtu ekalli ummân ušalmid** "the fear of the palace I taught the people."

[43] V R 47, obv. 24, **šar-ra ki-ma a-tur a-na re-e-ši** "from a king I became, as it were, a slave."

[44] V R 47, rev. 7, **id-lu dan-nu a-pir a-ga-šu.**

[45] Thus, for instance, a reference in the second tablet to the sufferer's "having been thrown on his back" (V R 47, obv. 49, **u-ram-mu-u ki-ša-du**) and "bent like a reed" (l. 50 **ur-ba-ti-iš uš-ni-il-lum**) corresponds to his thanksgiving in the third tablet (V R 47, rev. 18, **a-ma-liš iz-ḳup**) for having been made "erect like a cedar," and again, corresponding to the account of his helpless hands as "fetters for his body" (IV R 60*, B rev. 1, **il-lu-ur-tum še-ri-ia na-da-a i-da-a-a**), we find in the description of the release "the bonds enclosing me like a lock he opened" (V R 47, rev. 13, **la-ga-a-a ša i-šir i-dil-tas ip-ti**). Complaining in the second tablet that "for lack of nourishment he was tortured with pangs of hunger" (Sippar fragment, l. 3, **i-na [la] ma-ka-li e-ṣu(?) bu-bu-u[tu]**) we have in the third tablet "the one oppressed with hunger he made like a strong and solid sprout" (V R 47, rev. 14, **u-ma-ḫu ša ina un-ṣi it-tar-ru-u ki-ma pi-ir an-ni-ni rak-su.** For **an-ni-ni** = "strong," see Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 12. Compare also the above-mentioned corresponding passages, p. 147, note 41, etc.

sonage in this narrative is a ruler. It is he who is introduced in the second tablet as pouring forth a lament over the tortures that have been heaped upon him. A line from the third tablet preserved in the commentary[46] reveals to us the name of the royal sufferer as Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, and he is there described as "dwelling in Nippur." This personage, by a fortunate chance, occurs again in an important list of names, which confirms the view that he was a king who ruled in Nippur. The list in question,[47] while mainly drawn up for the purpose of furnishing explanations of proper names, by giving either (*a*) the phonetic transliteration of the ideographs employed in the writing of names,[48] or (*b*) in other cases the meanings of names written phonetically,[49] or again (*c*) merely simpler and more intelligible methods of writing certain names,[50] includes, as a matter of course, many names of kings. The first section in fact is taken up entirely with royal names, as is shown by the note at the end of this section, which reads: "These are the kings who ruled after the deluge, though not arranged in the proper order."[51] The second section begins with Hammu-

[46] V R 47, rev. 5. The line reads **LAL.UR.ELIM (ma) a-šib En-lil (ki)**. The commentary furnishes the phonetic reading of the first three signs, as **Ṭa-a-bi u-tu-ul (il) Bêl**, *i.e.* therefore "Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, dwelling in Nippur." The name Nippur is written as usual "Place [or district] of the god En-lil" (the chief god of Nippur).

[47] V R 44 (duplicate of II R 65, No. 2). See Pinches, *Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* iii. pp. 37 f., and further references in Bezold's *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection*, p. 631.

[48] So in the majority of names in col. ii, except that the divine elements in the names are not phonetically transliterated, but replaced by the more common ideographs.

[49] This is the case with many of the names in col. i. 21, *e.g.* **Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi** is explained as **kim-ta ra-pa-aš-tum** "extensive family." Such more or less fanciful explanations are valuable chiefly as illustrating the etymological science of the times.

[50] So in cols. ii and iii rarer forms of the names of well-known gods, as Bau, Gula, Marduk, Nusku, etc., are replaced by the commonly used forms, and, similarly, less known ideographs for other elements in the names by more common ones, or by a phonetic transliteration.

[51] **a-na ša-dir a-ḫa-meš la šaṭ-ru**, literally "in order together not written," *i.e.* written without reference to their proper order, which would therefore imply omissions as well as rearrangement.

rabi, and contains Cassite rulers well known to us, like Kurigalzu, Meli-šipak, Burnaburiaš, etc., whose phonetically written names are interpreted in the adjoining column in accord with the accepted etymologies of the day. While, as we know from chronological lists and other sources, many royal names are omitted, and there is in fact no strict chronological order in the grouping of names, it would appear that the learned scribe who drew up this list, prepared evidently for purposes of instruction in the temple schools, was guided in part at least by chronicles from which he selected such royal names as appeared to him to require comment or explanation. The text may therefore be designated as in part a commentary to a chronological list of rulers and in part, in so far as other than royal names are included, a commentary to proper names in general, intended to explain names that a scribe would come across in drawing up or reading business and legal documents. Among the names thus introduced, which for the most part represent such as occur in the older periods of Babylonian history, is **LAL.UR.ELIM (ma)**,[52] as in our text, which, being phonetically transliterated as **Ṭâbi-ut-lil**[53]**-Bêl**,[54] makes the correspondence with the line in the commentary complete. Hommel[55] recognized the identity, and though he speaks of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl as a "legendary" king of Nippur, he nevertheless regards him as an historical personage, nor is there any reason for doubting that the narrative embodied in our composition rests on some historical basis.

Hommel makes the interesting suggestion that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl may be the one referred to in a text first published by Strong,[56] in which various successful exploits are referred

[52] V R 44, col. ii. 17. All four signs as in V R 47, rev. 5, except that in the case of the third sign (Brünnow, No. 8883) the three independent signs of which it is composed are written consecutively instead of being combined into one.

[53] ut-lil = u-tul (V R 47, rev. 5).

[54] Written (il) En-lil = (il)Bêl (V R 47, rev. 5).

[55] *Grundriss der Geog. und Gesch. d. Alten Orients*[2], p. 251, note 3, and p. 351.

[56] *Babyl. and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. No. 1; also by Winckler in his *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. p. 73.

to. One gains the impression from our narrative that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl must indeed have been a ruler of a large domain and wide renown, and that for this reason the humiliation and suffering to which he was subjected in old age was the more impressive, — so impressive in fact as to be made the medium for conveying a religious lesson to future generations. For determining the age of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl we have no data at our disposal. No doubt he belonged to a very ancient time, certainly long before Hammurabi, and when Nippur was still the center of an independent kingdom. To place him in the "legendary prehistoric" days, as Hommel proposes, is merely another way of saying that he belongs to a time for which as yet we have no data.

If we had at our disposal only the second tablet, which is taken up, as already indicated, with a long and detailed complaint, placed in the mouth of a royal sufferer, it would be natural to regard the composition as belonging to the lamentation songs (*Klagelieder*), of which we now have a large number,[57] and which, as has been shown elsewhere,[58] have certain distinct features, justifying us in placing such songs in a category by themselves as a subdivision of the Babylonian prayers and hymns. Such lamentations, composed originally on occasions of public catastrophes like the invasion of an enemy or a disastrous storm resulting in general havoc or bad crops, were in time extended to occasions of private grief and distress, though even when so applied the originally public character of this class of compositions is to be seen in the large part which the misfortunes of rulers, upon whose welfare that of the country was dependent, play in them. All misfortunes being due to the displeasure of some god or group of gods, a public catastrophe was a proof of divine anger against the whole country, while in the case of some misfortune which affected the ruler or a member of the royal house, it was likewise the divine displeasure, manifesting itself in this way against

[57] See *Jastrow*, ii. chap. xviii, where numerous specimens will be found.

[58] *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 7 f., where the reasons are also stated against regarding such compositions as "penitential psalms," as has hitherto been done.

the country, on the theory that the rulers stood nearer to the gods than the common people, so that the entire country suffered if some deity was wroth with a ruler or with a member of the ruling house.

The two classes of lamentation songs thus resulting, those of a public and those of a private character, represent merely two phases of the same underlying circumstance, the anger of a deity against his land and his people. It was natural that in these lamentation songs, next to the lament over the disaster that had befallen the country or the royal house, the sense of guilt should be emphasized, and that, as the personal note became more distinct, the confession of sin on the part of the ruler should become as prominent an element as the lament in these compositions. A further step in the development of the lamentation songs is represented by compositions in which the ordinary individual pours forth his grief before some offended god or goddess. We have some specimens of such private and unofficial lamentations, and in these the confession of sin becomes the predominating theme. The so-called "penitential psalms" — a misnomer, so far as Babylonian literature is concerned, that ought to be abandoned — fall within this category, though it should be noted that some of the productions hitherto classed among "penitential psalms" represent lamentations of rulers rather than of ordinary individuals, and therefore belong to the official lamentation songs in which the welfare of the country is the determining factor. We have accordingly three kinds of lamentation songs in Babylonian literature, two of which partake of an official character and are distinguished from each other in that one is concerned with public catastrophes, the other with the private misfortunes of rulers, which, however, affect the general public welfare. The third kind is represented by the lamentation songs of a strictly personal character, occasioned by a grief or ill that has overtaken an individual and afflicts him and his circle alone. This class has, however, one important feature in common with the second, inasmuch as in both the confession of personal misdoings is most prominently introduced as a

means of arousing the compassion of the angered deity. Nevertheless our text, even on a superficial survey, differs in one essential particular from the ordinary laments with the confession of guilt on the part of a suffering ruler or of an ordinary individual afflicted by some sorrow; for while in some of these compositions the lament is accompanied by reflections on the nature of men and the way of the world, such reflections are brief,[59] being confined to two or three lines, and therefore merely incidental, whereas in our text the reflections assume a prominence which proves them to be as essential an element in the composition as the lament itself. Again, whereas the confession of guilt, more or less elaborate, is directly introduced in the ordinary lamentation songs, in our text such a confession is rather implicit and indirect. All this suggests the conclusion that whereas the second tablet of the series is based upon the custom of composing lamentations in times of distress, and, being modeled upon such productions, assumes their existence, it is not a lamentation song, but merely uses this species of literary composition as a point of departure for enlarging upon the doctrine of human suffering. In other words, the composition is didactic in purpose, and the situation unfolded in it, while in accord with that which underlies the lamentation

[59] Thus in a lament spoken by a priest on behalf of a sufferer we read (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 88):

What power has a servant, the creature of thy hands?
What can he decide? What is his strength?
What can a servant do who fears his god?
What can a maid give to her god?

or again (ii. p. 90):

Who among all of mankind
Understands my condition?
Who has not sinned, who not transgressed?
Who understands the ways of a god?

or (ii. p. 104):

Mankind is deaf and void of wisdom.
Among all mankind, who knows anything?
Whether they act ill or well, no one is wise.

But immediately upon such brief reflections the laments and appeals for help are resumed.

songs, is merely seized upon as an appropriate background or framework for the main theme of the production, which is none other than the one confronting us in the Biblical Book of Job — the problem of suffering. This conclusion, suggested by a careful consideration of the distinctive features in the second tablet, is borne out and further illustrated by the lines from the other tablets as preserved in the commentary.

The opening line of the first tablet:[60]

I will praise the lord of wisdom,

shows that the composition began with the praise of some god. Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl being from Nippur, to which besides the direct statement,[61] the element Bêl[62] points, the "lord of wisdom" can hardly be any one else than the god Bêl. Since, however, in one of the closing lines of the last tablet the god Marduk is introduced,[63] we have also the proof that, as in the case of so many other compositions of ancient Babylonia, a process of reëditing has taken place, undertaken by the priests of Marduk, who after Marduk as the chief god of Babylon — the political center in the period subsequent to Hammurabi — had been advanced to the head of the pantheon, transferred the homage formerly given to Bêl of Nippur to their favorite.[64] In accord with this policy, consistently and steadily carried out, hymns and rituals originally designed for Bêl were adapted to the cult of Marduk. The text, therefore, from which the scribes of Ashurbanapal

[60] See above, p. 143.

[61] See above, p. 149, note 46.

[62] Written, as will be recalled, En-lil in V R 47, rev. 5.

[63] V R 47, rev. 42.

[64] So *e.g.* almost the entire collection of lamentation songs published by Reisner are originally compositions in honor of Bêl for the cult at Nippur, but transferred to Marduk. See *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 11 f., 19 f., 29, etc. Examples of other hymns and prayers transferred to Marduk will be found in *Jastrow*, i. pp. 496, 503–506. The main version of the Babylonian creation-story is likewise a pæan in honor of Bêl of Nippur, which was transferred (together with an Eridu version celebrating Ea as the conqueror of Tiamat) to Marduk. See the writer's article on "The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation-Story," in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, pp. 971 ff., and "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?" *JAOS*, xxvii. pp. 172 ff.

made their copies for the royal library at Nineveh was not the original Nippur version, but the later form given to the composition by the priests of Marduk, and we may, therefore, safely conclude that in this Babylon version the "lord of wisdom," whose praises are sung at the beginning of the text, was taken to mean Marduk, to whom in fact the attribute of wisdom is frequently accorded in hymns and other texts. In this transfer of homage from Bêl to Marduk, we have also a valuable index for the age of the composition. It belongs, as does the narrative, to the period before Babylon's rise to greatness, that is, before the days of Hammurabi, who is now placed approximately at 2250 B.C., whereas the Babylon version must of course date from a subsequent period, — how much after Hammurabi, however, we have no means at present of determining.

Taking the earlier and original version as our basis, it appears, therefore, that the text began with a pæan in honor of Bêl, and the portion of the first tablet preserved through the commentary is sufficient to show that the god was praised for release from suffering.[65] After this thanksgiving prayer, placed in the mouth of the one who was saved from death, the text proceeds with a description of the sufferings endured. The second tablet, continuing this general theme, opens with a graphic account of the hopelessness of the condition of the sufferer, who applies in vain from one class of priests to the other in his quest for relief. The sufferer is then led to philosophical reflections regarding the nature of evil, man's ever-changeable fate, his own weakness, and allied thoughts. This elaborate discourse constitutes the characteristic feature of our text which — to emphasize the important point again — differentiates it sharply from an ordinary lamentation song. After indulging in these reflections, another and even more elaborate description of the sufferings endured by Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl follows, and with

[65] A line ending with ta-ra-nu (l. 17) explained as ṣil-lu "protection" and the following ending in a-tam-maḫ "[the staff of thy divinity (?)] I seize hold of" point in this direction, as do the following ones, which are better preserved.

the longing for release through death as his only hope, the second tablet closes.

The third tablet opens again with a note of despair, suggesting that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl may even have contemplated self-destruction, which Job's wife suggested to her tortured husband. Up to this point the sufferer himself is the speaker. At this point, however, the narrator steps forward, revealing the name of the sufferer, and after the statement that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl prayed to his god with a confession of his sins, the description of the release is given by Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, — a description quite as elaborate as the account of his sufferings in the first and second tablets. This description apparently extends into the fourth tablet, though we have no means of determining exactly where this third tablet ends and the last begins; and since the commentary is also defective at the close, we are left to conjecture as to the manner in which the text came to an end. If a conclusion from analogous compositions (such as the Babylonian creation-story, which, like our text, is a didactic tale with a moral illustrative of certain doctrinal teachings) be permitted, it is the author of the composition as the narrator who again steps forward at the close to exhort all who would gain the favor and protection of the gods to pray without ceasing, to acknowledge the strength and power of the gods, and to profit by the example of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl in maintaining a proper attitude of humility through a recognition of the weakness and sinfulness of man.

IV

We are now prepared to turn to the text itself. Of the first tablet only six lines are fully preserved in the commentary, but three more which are partially preserved can be restored, and the closing word of two lines can be determined.[66] These lines are as follows:

[66] In all, 23 lines of the commentary belonging to the first tablet are preserved, but since at least 7 of these are taken up with the explanatory portion, there remain only 16 lines, and of these, 4 show only the last sign or two, and a fifth is too defective to furnish any sense.

. . . . . protection[67]
[The staff of thy divinity?] I seize hold of[68]

These two lines still belong to the praise of Bêl. With the next line preserved, we are already in the midst of the description of the sufferings of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl. Bearing in mind that we have no means of definitely determining exactly how many lines are missing between those preserved, the sufferer thus portrays his sad plight:

[Mine eyes he closed, bolting them as with] a lock,[69]
[Mine ears he bolted][70] like those of a deaf person;
A king — I have been changed into a slave.[71]
A madman[72] — my companions became estranged from me.
In the midst (?) of the assembly, they spurned me . . .[73]

[67] **ta-ra-nu** explained as **ṣil-lu** "protection."

[68] **a-tam-maḫ**, explained in the next line, **[a-ta-]ma-ḫu = ṣa-ba-tum** "to seize." The restoration here suggested on the basis of a passage like the following in a lamentation of Ashurnaṣirpal II (c. 1100 B.C.) **ṣa-bit ḳa-ni ilu-ti-ki** "taking hold of the staff of thy divinity" (Brünnow, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* v. p. 68. See also *Jastrow*, ii. p. 112.

[69] Of this line only a portion of the verb and the word **êli-ia** "against me" remain, but through the commentary (in the following line, V R 47, obv. 21) another word of the line **nap-ra-ku**, explained as **pi-ir-ku** "bolt," is obtained. The restoration, while partly conjectural, may be regarded as safe so far as the general meaning is concerned. Since the following line speaks of the closing up of his ears, it is reasonable to expect this one to refer to the loss of his eyesight.

[70] Read **[uzna-a-a u-sak-ki]-ra ḫa-šik-kiš e-me**, corresponding to **uzna-a-a uṭ-ṭam-me-ma us-sak-ki-ra ḫa-šik-kiš** in the third tablet (V R 47, rev. 9). "Mine ears which he had stopped up, were bolted like a deaf person's."

[71] **re-e-ši**, explained as **LÚ + URU = ardu**, the common sign for "servant" (Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 956). The word **rêšu** is therefore to be connected with the Hebrew רֵאשׁ "poor," the correspondence between the Assyrian and Hebrew being the same as **rêšu** "head" and רֹאשׁ.

[72] **na-al-bu-bu**, explained as **še-gu-u** "mad." **nalbubu**, from **libbu** "heart," "intellect," would be either the one "endowed with intellect," used euphemistically to express just the reverse, or in a privative sense "the one deprived of intellect."

[73] A difficult line, and, moreover, imperfectly preserved. At the beginning **ina ḫa-aš pu-uḫ-ri** appears to have some such force as "in the midst of the assembly," though this is far from certain. Preceding this line there are two others, — one perhaps representing a "comment" line, — which are too mutilated to permit of any attempt at a restoration.

At the mention (?) of my piety[74] . . . terror.[75]
By day — deep sighs, at night — weeping;
The month — cries, the year — distress.

These last two lines are evidently continuous. They are quite in the style of the lamentation songs, and recall a passage in the lament of a ruler addressed to the goddess Ishtar:[76]

I experience, O my mistress, mournful days, distressful months, years of misery.

It is quite possible that they form the closing lines of the first tablet, since with the following line of the commentary we reach the second tablet, which, while continuing the general lament, reveals through its elaborate philosophical reflections the distinctively didactic nature of the composition. The tablet begins with a sentiment that recalls the refrain in the Book of Ecclesiastes:

I had reached and passed the allotted time of life;[77]
Whithersoever I turned — evil upon evil.[78]
Misery[79] had increased, happiness had disappeared,

[74] **a-na ḳa-ab damḳut-ia.**

[75] **ḫaš-tum** explained in the commentary **ḫa-aš-tum = šu-[ut-tum].** Cf. V R 28, No. 1, obv. 32, *a–b*; for the meaning, see Muss-Arnolt, *Am. Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxii. p. 227. The preceding word **pi-ta-as-su** is obscure. A somewhat similar passage occurs in a prayer to Bêlit, published by Scheil, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* x. p. 22 (line 62), on which see Meissner, *Supplement zu den Assyr. Wörterbüchern*, p. 79 b.

[76] King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. p. 232 (line 72). Similarly, in other laments:

In distressful lament and sorrow,
He moans like a dove night and day (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 89);

My eye is full of tears,
On my couch I sigh,
Weeping and sighing have prostrated me (*ib.* p. 85).

[77] More literally, "I reached up (in) life, I passed beyond the limit." In the phrase **akšud-ma a-na ba-laṭ a-dan-na i-ti-iḳ**, the word **balâṭu** means "the span of life," and **adannu** "the fixed time."

[78] Text: **limuttim, limuttim** "evil, evil," a phrase therefore like the refrain הֲבֶל הֲבָלִים in Ecclesiastes.

[79] **ṣa-bur-tum**, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 35) as **ru-ub-tum**, a very strong term for 'distress.'

I cried to the god,[80] but he did not show me his countenance;
I prayed to the goddess,[81] but she did not raise her head.
The **bârû**-priest[82] could not determine the future by an inspection,[83]
The **šâ'ilu**-priest[84] did not by an offering[85] justify my suit,
The **zaḳiḳu**-priest[86] I appealed to, but he revealed nothing,

[80] Throughout the text **ilu** without further qualification is used for "god" and **iš-ta-ru** for "goddess." The reference is, of course, to Bêl and Bêlit of Nippur or, in the reëdited form, to Marduk and Sarpanit. The usage is interesting as illustrating the preëminent position accorded in a religious center to the chief god and his consort, to the extent of making them the deities *par excellence*. The so-called "monotheistic tendency" in the Babylonian religion is directly connected with this peculiar point of view, which, while recognizing entire groups of deities and spirits of various degrees of power, relegates them to such an insignificant place by the side of the chief pair as to give the impression that the latter were regarded as the only ones.

[81] **iš-ta-ri**; see the previous note.

[82] The **bârû**, literally "seer," or "inspector," is primarily the one who through the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal divines from the signs noted on the liver what the future will bring, but the term is extended to include the one who ascertains the will and intention of the gods in other ways, as through the reading of the signs in the heavens, through the interpretation of dreams, or through an oracle obtained in a more direct manner. See Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 82–91, whose views can now be supplemented by later researches, for which the reader is referred to *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 192–195, 205–208.

[83] **ina bi-ir** "through the inspection," the reference being to the examination of the liver as the primary organ of divination. The use of the construct form of the noun (without case-ending) for the absolute is a characteristic feature of this text. So, for example, in the first line of the second tablet we have **ana balâṭ** for **balâṭi**.

[84] Written **EN.ME.LI** "lord of the purifying (?) incantation," for which the phonetic reading is **šâ'ilu** (Brünnow, No. 2921), literally, "the asker" or "the inquirer." From a passage like ours it would appear that his functions lay in obtaining an oracle through an offering to the gods, not, however, through the inspection of the sacrificial animal, but in a more direct manner.

[85] **ma-aš-šak-ka**, explained in the commentary (obv. 37) as **šur-ḳi-nu** "gift."

[86] **za-ḳi-ḳu**, also an oracle-priest who transmits, as the line indicates, a direct message from the gods. The distinction between the **šâ'ilu** and the **zaḳiḳu** is not clear. There are some reasons for believing that the **šâ'ilu** was in reality the necromancer who directed his questions to the shades of the departed.

The **mašmašu**-priest[87] did not by (his) rites[88] release me from the ban.
The like of this had never been seen;[89]
Whithersoever I turned, trouble was in pursuit.[90]

To understand the situation as the king describes it, we must bear in mind the Babylonian view already touched upon, that a misfortune to the ruler (or to the ruler's house-

[87] (lu)**maš** + **maš** = **mašmašu** (Brünnow, No. 1844) is, primarily, the exorciser who, through the recital of incantation formulas and petitions in combination with purification rites, secures the release for those suffering from the control of a demon, or for those who have been bewitched. See Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 91–93, and Morgenstern, *Doctrine of Sin among the Babylonians*, pp. 38–41. The four classes of priests here mentioned cover the chief functions of the Babylonian and Assyrian priesthood, and they are introduced in succession, in order to add emphasis to the hopeless condition of the sufferer, who is thus represented as having tried all remedies without success.

[88] **kikittû**, the technical term for incantation rites explained in the commentary by the more general word for a religious ceremony **ni-pi-šu**. The text of this line as given in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 39) furnishes the ideographic form for **kikittu**, namely, **AK.AK**, *i.e.* "actions" or "ceremonies."

[89] A rather difficult line, reading **a-a i-ti ip-še-e-ti ša-na-a-ti ma-ti-tan**, of which a literal translation would be "not are seen parallel acts in the world." Zimmern first translated the line, "Wie erscheinen doch die Taten anders in der Welt" (*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 385), and subsequently modified it to "Was für verkehrte Dinge in der Welt" (*Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 29). Neither is altogether satisfactory. The former introduces an idea hardly warranted by the syntactical construction, while in both translations Zimmern proposes an interpretation for **â** (a distinctly negative particle) that is not justified. The phrase might be interpreted as "other happenings will not be seen," in the sense that things have always been thus and always will be, and it is tempting to seek in Babylonian literature for a parallel to the declaration of Koheleth that "there is nothing new under the sun." This, however, would not fit in with the context, which, on the contrary, suggests that the punishment of a pious and god-fearing ruler, whose appeals to gods and priests are rejected, is something new. I take, therefore, **ipšêti šanâti** as "repeated acts," *i.e.* doings like these.

[90] Read **a-ḫar-ma ar-kat**, "back and front (?)," an idiomatic expression for "on all sides." The unusual word **ip-pi-ru** at the end of the line is explained in the commentary (obv. 41) by two synonyms, (1) **ma-na-aḫ-tum** "distress," (2) **murṣu** "sickness." It is interesting to note that the line in the commentary contains two scribal errors, **ri-ša-tum** for **ri-da-tum**, and **ip-pi-e-šî** for **ip-pi-ri**.

hold) foreboded distress for the entire nation. Corresponding to the conclusion which was drawn at a time of general distress, whether produced by bad crops, destructive storms, a plague, defeat in war, or an invasion of the enemy, that some god or goddess was enraged at the ruler, the actual punishment of the ruler or of a member of his household was supposed to involve general trouble and misfortune, the existence of which is therefore assumed. It is a direct result of this close relationship between the ruler and the public welfare that in most of the lamentation songs there is a constant transition from the theme of a misfortune that has overwhelmed a ruler to a wail over some general catastrophe, and then back again from the latter to the former. The king, therefore, in this class of compositions, upon which, as pointed out, our text rests, must be regarded as the representative of the state. In our text this view crops out at various points, although, because of the didactic character of the composition, it is not insisted upon to the same extent as in other laments of rulers,[91] and, as we shall presently see, the larger emphasis is laid upon the plight of the ruler as an individual. The hopelessness of the outlook is forcibly indicated by this appeal to the god and goddess and to the four classes of priests. The gods did not answer, the priests seemed powerless, no omens were granted, no oracles available, and the exorcising rites were of no avail. There was therefore nothing further to be done.

In the next section the ruler proceeds to emphasize, though at first in a somewhat indirect manner, his piety and his steady observance of the precepts of the gods, the implication being that since he has not offended the gods,

[91] For instance, in the lament of Ashurnaṣirpal II above referred to (see note 68), of which a translation will be found in *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 111–114. This ruler also emphasizes his piety, reminds the goddess Ishtar, to whom his lament is addressed, of what he has done for her cult, and then asks what he has done to merit the grievous punishment meted out to him, which is a painful disease, as in the case of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl. Here, however, the parallel between the two texts ends, and the parallel merely furnishes another proof that our text as indicated is *modeled* upon such royal lamentation songs, but serves a different purpose.

his punishment is inexplicable on the ordinary hypothesis that suffering comes to a ruler because of some offense committed that has stirred a god or goddess to wrath. He continues:

As though I had not always set aside the portion[92] for the god,
And had not invoked the goddess at the meal,[93]
Had not bowed my face, and brought my tribute,[94]
As though I were one in whose mouth supplication and prayer were not constant,[95]
Who had set aside the day of the god,[96] forgotten the new-moon festival,[97]
Spurned them [*sc.* the god and the goddess], neglected their images,[98]
Not taught his people fear and reverence,
Not invoked his god, eaten of his [*sc.* the god's] food,[99]

[92] **pir-ki-tum** from **parâku** "cut off," "set aside," the reference being to the portion of the offering set aside for the gods, or perhaps, in a more general way, to the tithe for the temple service.

[93] To invoke, or more literally "mention" (**az-kur**), the goddess, signifies, similarly, to give her the portion due to her.

[94] **šu-kin-ni**, from **kânu**, cf. Messerschmidt, *Stele Nabû'naids*, col. x. 15 **ina šu-kin-ni-e**, where the context shows that "tribute" is meant.

[95] Literally "in whose mouth supplication and prayer had been cut off or interrupted" (**ip-par-ku-u**).

[96] *I.e.* the festival day.

[97] **eš-še-ši**, the term for the new-moon festival, though perhaps used here in a more general sense for any festival day. In view of the fact that, as we know from other sources, the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th day of each month had a special penitential significance, so that on them the king had to abstain from eating cooked food, riding in his chariot, and the like (see Jastrow, "The Original Significance of the Hebrew Sabbath," in *Am. Journal of Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 319 ff., and the latest utterance on the so-called Babylonian Sabbath by Johns in the *Expository Times*, 1905, pp. 566–567), it may be that the reference in the "day of the god" is to these five days which had a special meaning for the king. Such a view would account for the use of the "new-moon festival" as a synonym, since the five days are connected with phases of the moon.

[98] Read **šalme-šu-nu**, which seems to me preferable to **nu-me-šu-nu** "ihren Ausspruch" (Zimmern). Apart from the fact that the latter word is a very doubtful one in Babylonian, a better sense for the first part of the line is obtained by adding **nu** to the preceding word **id-du-u-uḫ-šu-nu** "he rejected them," *i.e.* the gods.

[99] Here again invoking a god means giving him his portion of the sacrifice.

Neglected his goddess, not offering her drink,[100]
As though the one who had (always) honored[101] his lord could forget him,
As though I were like the one who has pronounced the sacred name of his god![102]
(Whereas) I was devoted in person to supplication and prayer;
Prayer was my practice,[103] sacrificing my law,
The day of worship of the gods the joy of my heart,
The day of devotion to the goddess[104] more (to me) than riches;
Royal prayer,[105] — that was my joy;

[100] The parallelism suggests the reading **maš-tim** (although this usually means "drinking cup" rather than "drink") adopted by Zimmern in his first translation. In his second translation he reads **maš-ṭar**, and renders "document," but it is difficult to suppose that the writer could have intended this.

[101] **im-ḫu-u**, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 42) as **ka-ba-tum** "honor."

[102] **niš ili-šu kab-ti rab-iš iz-kur.** Zimmern has correctly taken these words to refer to an unlawful "invocation of his greatly honored [*i.e.* sacred] god." The sacred name was to be invoked by the priest alone, and the interesting line points to the existence of a feeling among the Babylonians, as among the Hebrews, against the profanation of a divine name by an unauthorized use of it.

[103] **ta-ši-mat** "that which is fixed," hence a practice, custom, and the like. Note again the form without a case ending (as above, p. 159, note 83), whereas in the commentary (obv. 43) we find **ta-ši-ma-tum**, which is explained as **ni-ḳu-u** "offering." **šak-ku-u-a** is explained in the commentary as **par-ṣi** "my law."

[104] **ûmu ri-du-ti (il) iš-tar**, literally "day of following the goddess."

[105] **ik-ri-be šarri** "prayers of the king," *i.e.* the official cult, in contrast to **ikribê nišê** "prayers of the people," *i.e.* individual or lay prayers (King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 13, obv. 7), the contrast being between prayers and lamentation songs uttered by a king, constituting (see above, p. 152) a special division of public lamentations, and the prayers of ordinary people, or private, unofficial lamentations. Zimmern's rendering in his second translation, "dem König zu huldigen," misses the point, and, similarly, in the following line he fails to catch the sense. With these lines the complaint of the sorely afflicted Assyrian King Ashurnaṣirpal II (see above, p. 161) is to be compared (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 114):

> Faithfully [I paid homage to thy divinity],
> In thy divine presence [I ever walked];

Chanting to him [*sc.* the god] — a sign of his grace.
I taught my country to guard the name of the god,[106]
To honor the name of the goddess I accustomed my people.
The glorification of the king I made like unto that of a god,[107]
And in the fear of the palace[108] I instructed the people.
For, indeed, I thought that such things were pleasing to the god.

These last three lines appear to me to be crucial for the proper understanding of the exceptionally fine section that follows. After contrasting the manner in which he has been punished — as though he had disobeyed divine precepts and neglected the proper homage to the gods — with his actual conduct, which had been marked by excessive devotion and persistent piety, the thought occurs to him that perhaps he had sinned in insisting upon his own glorification. The phrase that he employs in describing this glorification suggests that he permitted divine honors to be paid him, though in one text[109] the meaning is perhaps intentionally veiled by the use of **eliš** "as on high" instead of **iliš** "like a god." That the latter, however, is really meant is shown by the

As though I had not reverenced thy divinity [am I tortured],
Although I have not transgressed nor done wrong, [I have been punished].
Ever did I walk uprightly. . . .

[106] **me-e** (so Text C, obv. 9) in sense of "name" (see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 395 a), for which the scribe in B (obv. 29), mistaking this for **mê**, the plural of **mû** "water," wrote the ideogram for water (viz. the sign **a**) with the plural sign. Such a mistake in "spelling" suggests that Text B was taken down by dictation.

[107] **i-liš**, according to Text C (obv. l. 11), whereas B (obv. 31) writes **e-liš** "high." The meaning is about the same, and while the latter may be due to an error in spelling, occasioned by the fact that B was taken down by dictation, one cannot help thinking that the change may have been intentional in order to avoid the distasteful suggestion that the king boasts of actually having had divine honors paid him.

[108] **pu-luḫ-tu ekalli**. The same word for "fear" (**puluḫtu**) is here used as in the preceding lines to indicate "divine fear," showing that the same kind of fear is intended in both instances. Fear of the king and of royal authority was inculcated, just as was the fear of the god and the goddess.

[109] See above, note 107.

following line, the "fear" of the palace being placed through the use of identical terms [110] on a level with the inculcation of divine fear. The two lines are, therefore, of special interest and importance in connection with what we know of the doctrine of the deification of kings, which is a feature in the earlier periods of Babylonian history.[111] In later times this notion seems to have disappeared, and the line,

> For, indeed, I thought that such was pleasing to the god,

suggests that at the time of the composition of our text a mild opposition to the doctrine had already arisen. Indeed, one is inclined to go a step farther and see in this line not merely a veiled protest against the doctrine of deification of mortals, but the reason why, according to the narrator, Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl was so sorely punished. In support of this view, it is to be noted that the doubt suggested by the line is made more definite by the train of thought that follows — the hopelessness of man's understanding the ways and thoughts of the gods, and, as an inference, to the general consideration of man's weakness and his uncertain fate. It is a lesson in humility that the writer desires to impress upon us, and this purpose becomes more intelligible if we assume that the lesson is also to suggest the reason for the punishment of the king. Without such an assumption the conclusion would be forced upon the reader that, since the king had done no wrong, the gods had acted arbitrarily, if not cruelly. That the skepticism in regard to a doctrine which was once firmly held should be somewhat veiled is not surprising. The same is the case in the Book of Job,

[110] See above, note 108.

[111] See Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 315, *Jastrow*, i. p. 170, and the references there given, to which should now be added *Klio* (ed. Lehmann), iii. p. 137 ff., and Lehmann in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, p. 1002. Gudea (c. 3000 B.C.), for example, had statues erected to himself in the temple of Ningirsu and ordered sacrifices to be offered to them. Naram-Sin, somewhat earlier, calls himself in one of his inscriptions "god of Agade," while in temple documents the determinative for "god" appears before the name of the rulers of Ur.

XUM

and it is only in the Book of Ecclesiastes that the skepticism becomes pronounced. But whatever the writer's motives may have been, the question is certainly raised by the line in question whether the king did not overstep the proper bounds in thus associating his authority with that of the gods. He says, indeed, that he acted as he did because he thought the policy to be pleasing to his god, but was he perhaps mistaken in this? Convinced, as he was, of not having failed in his duty toward the gods in all other respects, did his sin perhaps consist in inadvertently arousing their jealousy by claiming for himself, in accordance with traditional beliefs, a position equal to that of the powers on high?

The section that follows, apart from its importance as furnishing the keynote to the interpretation of the text, is noteworthy as one of the finest specimens known to us, if not indeed the finest, of the ancient Babylonian literature. It reads as follows: —

> What, however, seems good to oneself, to a god is displeasing,[112]
> What is spurned[113] by oneself finds favor with a god;
> Who is there that can grasp the will of the gods in heaven?
> The plan of a god full of mystery (?)[114] — who can understand[115] it?
> How can mortals[116] learn the way of a god?
> He who is still alive at evening is dead the next morning;

[112] **ḳul-lul-tum**, a strong term, equivalent to our "contemptible."

[113] **mu-us-su-kat** "put aside."

[114] **zi-e**, which also occurs in the phrase **zi-e uz-ni** in the commentary (V R 47, rev. 10), as the equivalent of **a-mi-ra** "deaf." The underlying stem must therefore have some such meaning as "covering," "closing." I follow Zimmern, who renders "voll von Dunkelheit."

[115] **i-ḫa-ak-kim**, from the common Semitic stem **ḫakâmu** "to be wise," "to know."

[116] **a-pa-a-ti**, literally "human settlements"; here used poetically for the inhabitants of the settlements, in the sense of sojourners, to emphasize the temporariness of human existence. The term is similarly used for mankind in the lamentation song to Ishtar, published by King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. p. 226 (obv. 27).

In an instant he is cast into grief, of a sudden he is crushed;
For a moment he sings and plays,
In a twinkling[117] he wails like a mourner.
Like opening and closing,[118] their [*sc.* mankind's] spirit[119] changes;
If they are hungry, they are like a corpse,
Have they had enough, they consider themselves second[120] to their god;
If things go well, they prate of mounting to heaven,[121]
If they are in distress, they speak of descending into Irkalla.[122]

This passage furnishes, as it were, the keynote to the proper interpretation of the text. While the thought that man cannot fathom the ways of the gods is found elsewhere in Babylonian literature,[123] the further reflections upon man's weakness as manifested by his inability to control his own fate, and by his constant change of spirit from pride to despair, are evidently intended to point the moral of the situation, namely, the obligation resting even upon kings who are disposed to place themselves on a level with gods, to humiliate themselves before the higher Powers, and instead of contenting themselves with the mere observance of prescribed rites, to acknowledge their frailty and sinfulness. The passage conveys the suggestion that penitence and contriteness of spirit, and a readiness humbly to confess one's weakness in the face of divine Power, with a complete surrender of all pride of position, must accompany the appeal to

[117] The four expressions here used to express a momentary happening, viz. **šur-šiš, za-mar, ina ṣi-bit ap-pi** ("twist of the nose"), **ina pi-it pu-ri-di** ("opening of the eyelid [?]"), illustrate the wealth of the Babylonian vocabulary.

[118] Explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 44) **u-mu u mu-ši** "day and night."

[119] **ṭe-en-ši-na** "their reason," the *m* of **ṭêmu** (Hebr. שֵׁמֶץ) being changed to *n* before the sibilant. Above, l. 16, we have **ṭe-im ili** (Text C) "reason of a god."

[120] **i-šà-an-na-na** from **šanânu** "be second," "be like," etc.

[121] Is there perhaps an allusion here to a legend or myth like Gen. 11?

[122] One of the names of the lower world, where the dead congregate.

[123] See *e.g. Jastrow*, i. p. 476; ii. pp. 88, 104, etc.

the gods. It is a passage like this, therefore, that changes the mere lament into a didactic composition, in which the narrative itself serves to illustrate the writer's purpose. At this point, unfortunately, the tablet becomes defective, but through the neo-babylonian fragment, in combination with the commentary, twelve lines can be restored, which probably fill up all but a few lines of the gap. After thus reflecting on the uncertainty of life and the fickleness of human fortune, with its obvious moral that men should be becomingly meek and humble — an important lesson for kings who lay claim to divine honors — Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl harks back to the description of his sufferings. He takes up again the conventional lamentation strain.

Before we reach the reverse of the Sippar fragment, the commentary supplies the following five lines[124]:

An evil demon[125] has taken hold of me (?);
From yellowish,[126] the sickness[127] became white,[128]
It threw me to the ground and stretched me[129] on my back,
It bent my high stature[130] like a poplar;[131]

[124] V R 47, obv. 46–52.

[125] **šu-lum**, explained in the commentary as **e-kim-mu**, a general term for "demon."

[126] Read **ur-ḳit-ḳi-tum**, a reduplication of the stem **arâḳu** "to be green" like Hebrew יְרַקְרַק.

[127] **lu-'-tum** "uncleanliness," explained as **mur-ṣu** "sickness." Disease being due according to current Babylonian ideas to the presence in the body of an evil demon, or to his influence, the sick man was regarded as unclean.

[128] **i-pi-iṣ-ṣu**, a denominative of **piṣû** "white." The line is probably intended to indicate the change of color in the face, now yellow and again white, in consequence of the disease, though it is also possible that a skin disease with which the royal sufferer is afflicted, and which produces yellow and white spots, is here described.

[129] The verbs used, **i-ti-ḳi** and **ra-mu-u**, are entered in the commentary as synonyms and explained as **še-bi-ru** "crush."

[130] **kat-ti rap-ša-tu**, literally "extended stature." To the passages for **gattu** given by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* 207 b, may now be added Craig, *Assyr. and Babyl. Religious Texts*, i. pl. 30, 34, and Böllenrücher, *Hymnen und Gebete an Nergal*, p. 38, who shows that the initial consonant is *k*.

[131] **ur-ba-tu** is explained in the commentary as **ur-ba-nu-u** with the determinative for tree before it. Compare Hebrew עַרְעָר "poplar," and see Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, p. 452.

Like an **ulîltum**,[132] I was uprooted, like a **puppânu**[133] thrown down.

The Sippar fragment begins with the following line and furnishes seven more, of which the first two are also found in the commentary.[134] These lines continue the graphic description of the king's sufferings:

As one whose food[135] is putrid,[136] I grew old.[137]
The malady dragged on its course.[138]
Though without food,[139] hunger diminished (?);[140]
. . . my blood [became sluggish[141] (?)]
With nourishment cut off[142] (?)

[132] **u-lil-tum**, evidently the name of a high tree. The underlying stem signifies "strong," and another derivative, also the name of a tree, is **allânu** (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 71 a) which bears the same relation to Hebrew אַיִל that **urbânu** does to עֲרָבָה. In the commentary (V R 47, obv. 52) it is explained as **su-un-gir-tum**, perhaps "palm."

[133] Likewise the name of a tree of lofty stature.

[134] Only the traces of the first and second lines are preserved in the Sippar fragment, so that without the commentary it would be impossible to do anything with them. As it is, the second line is identical with V R 47, obv. 54, and the preceding line appears to be identical with V R 47, obv. 53, so that the commentary would furnish in this instance two successive lines.

[135] **aš-na-an-šum-ma**, the word **ašnân** "grain" being used poetically for "food" in general.

[136] **da-ad-da-riš**, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 53) as **bu-'-ša-nu** "smelly." **daddaru** "bitter" is also the name of an ill-smelling weed (cf. Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 8, obv. 17 = *Cun. Texts*, xviii. pl. 32). See also Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, p. 452.

[137] Read **a-la-bir**.

[138] **ap-pu-na-ma e-te-rik si-li-e-tum**, the commentary explaining the first word as **ma-'a-diš** "greatly" and the third by the sign for "sickness," *i.e.* "the disease was greatly prolonged," or "became chronic."

[139] Read **i-na[la]ma-ka-li**. The traces of the sign **la** are discernible.

[140] **e-[ṣu] bu-[bu-u-tu]**. Traces of **ṣu** and of the second **bu** as well as of the following **u** are to be seen. The sufferer says that although he partook of no food, he was not hungry; he had lost his appetite.

[141] **da-mi**, followed by traces of **is-su** according to Messerschmidt. Of the four signs at the beginning of the line, the last two are **mu-ḫa**. The second one appears to be **iš**, while the first, according to Messerschmidt, is not **ti**, as Scheil supposed.

[142] **e-ṣi-da-tum uz-zu-ḳat**, the former word, literally "crops," being used for nourishment in general, the latter derived from the stem **nazâḳu** "to shut off" (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 457 b).

(Though) my armor was burnished,[143] the bow[144] [strong],
Tied to the couch with the outlet closed,[145] I was stretched out.[146]

With the following line, the reverse in Text B begins, and from this point to the end of the second tablet we have four witnesses to the text; namely, Texts B and C, the Sippar fragment, and the commentary, which by itself furnishes no less then eight of the remaining twenty-five lines. The description of the sufferings endured continues to the close of the tablet, ending with a note of despair that manifests itself in the longing for a speedy release through death.

The house became a prison;[147]
As fetters for my body,[148] my hands were powerless,[149]
As pinions for my person, my feet were stretched out,[150]
My discomfiture was painful,[151] the downfall severe.[152]
A strap[153] of many twists[154] held me fast,[155]

[143] **ši-ir-a-nu-u-a** (like Hebrew שְׁרִיר) **nu-up-pu-ḫu**.

[144] **u-ri-ik-tum**, which I take as the name of a weapon, another form for **ariktum** "long bow" (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 133 b), as, above, we have **urḫu** "road" by the side of **arḫu**; similarly, **urruḫiš** "rapidly" by the side of **arḫu**; **arḳu** "green" by the side of **urḳu**, etc.

[145] **me-si-ru mu-ṣi-e**, literally "closed of outlet," *i.e.* he was unable to get out of his couch, as though it were walled in.

[146] Read **uš-ni-[il]** as above. (V R 47, obv. 50.)

[147] **ki-šuk-ki**, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 56) as **ki-lum** a "closed off" place.

[148] **ši-ri-ia** "my flesh."

[149] **na-da-a** "fallen."

[150] The commentary has **muk-ḳu-tu**, whereas the Sippar fragment has apparently **šum-ḳu-ta**. The word **maš-kan** at the beginning of the line is explained (V R 47, obv. 59) as **bi-ri-tum**, the more common word for "fetter," "chain."

[151] Sippar fragment reads clearly **ni-da-tu-u-a šum-ru-ṣa**. The former word, from **nadû** "fall down," describes the fall of the sufferer from strong health to weakening invalidism.

[152] **mi-ḫi-iṣ-tu dan-[nat]**.

[153] **ḳi-na-zu**, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 61) as **gab-ri** preceded by the determinative for an instrument (**giš**), *i.e.* a "large" fetter of some kind. Delitzsch's incorrect reading (*Assyr. Handw.* pp. 143 a, 588 a) of the commentary is to be corrected accordingly, but the other passage quoted by him for **ḳinazu** (IV R 30*, rev. 9–10) proves the correctness of

A sharply-pointed spear[156] pierced me,[157]
All day the pursuer[158] followed me,
At night he granted me no respite whatever,
Through wrenching[159] my joints were torn apart,
My limbs were shattered[160] and rendered helpless;[161]
In my stall[162] I passed the night like an ox,[163]
I was saturated like a sheep in my excrements;[164]

his view that a leather strap of some kind is meant; not indeed a "whip" as Zimmern has it, but rather a strap plaited of many single strips.

[154] **ma-la-a ṣil-la-a-tum**, for which the Sippar fragment has the feminine **ma-la-ti**. The word **ṣil-la-a-tum** is explained (V R 47, obv. 61) as **ḳa-ta-a-tum** "twists"(?).

[155] **id-da-an-ni**, from **nadû** "cast down."

[156] **pa-ru-uš-šu**, explained (V R 47, rev. 1) as **ḫaṭṭu** "staff," here, however, used as a weapon. **si-ḳa-ti** (variants **ta** and **tum**) **-dan-nat**, literally "strong in points," *i.e.* sharply pointed.

[157] **u-saḫ-ḫi-la-an-ni**. See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 493 a.

[158] **ri-du-u**. The demon causing the disease is meant.

[159] **i**(variant **u**)**-tab-lak-ku-ti**. See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 176 a.

[160] **su-up-pu-ḫa**.

[161] **i-ta-at-ta-a a-ḫi-tum** (variant **ti**) "thrown to one side," *i.e.* worthless.

[162] **ina ru-ub-ṣi-ia**, the word **rubṣu** being the term used for the stall of an ox or horse. The sufferer likens his chamber, in which he lies helpless night and day, to an ox-stall.

[163] **a-bit**, from **bâtu**, which accordingly has in Assyrian, as in Arabic, the meaning "pass the night," or perhaps simply "remain."

[164] **ina ta-ba-aš-ta-ni-ia**. The word is explained in the commentary (V R 47, rev. 3) as **ṣu-u** (Hebrew צוֹאָה and צוֹאָה) "fæces," and **ši-na-tum** (Hebrew שֵׁנַיִם) "urine." The term, therefore, comprises the excrements in general, both solid and fluid. These two lines as well as the four following lines bear such a close resemblance to the fragment of a "bilingual" lamentation (IV R² 22, No. 2) that some literary relationship between the two must be assumed. The fragment reads as follows:

Marduk has laid [him] low;
By day sorrow, at night grief,
And terror overwhelming him in dreams.
No **bârû**-priest guided him by an inspection(**bi-ri**),
The **šâ'ilu**-priest through the offering (**mu-uš-ša-ak-ka**) revealed nothing;
Yoked to his misfortune, he obtained no respite (**ul i-na-aḫ**),
The **âšipu**-priest obtained no release through an exorcism.
Like an ox he was thrown on his couch(?),
Like a sheep saturated (**bu-lul**) with his excrements ([**ina ta-ba-aš**]-**ta-ni-šu**);
To the brink of destruction [he was brought down].

It will be observed that the sufferer is spoken of in the third person. It

My diseased joints[165] the **mašmašu**-priest tore apart[166] (?)
And my omens[167] the **bârû**-priest set aside,
The **âšipu**-priest could not interpret the character of my disease,[168]
And the limit of my malady[169] the **bârû**-priest could not fix.[170]
No god came to my aid,[171] taking me by the hand,
No goddess had compassion for me,[172] walking by my side.
The grave[173] was open, my burial[174] prepared;

is therefore an interceding priest who is speaking, or the narrator of a tale. The former supposition is unlikely because of the length of the description. The latter is more likely, and the question suggests itself whether this extract may not be a part of the third tablet of our series, in which, as will presently be shown, the narrator steps forward and describes Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl's anguish. If this be so, then the bilingual form of the fragment would point to the existence of an older ideographic or "Sumerian" version of the tale of which our second tablet and the portions of other tablets of the series preserved in the commentary represent the phonetically written version. See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 130, note 1.

[165] Written **SA.GIG** = **maš-ka-du** (Brünnow, No. 3149). The two signs signify "sickness of the joints." In Text C there follows **itti-ia**, whereas the Sippar fragment apparently reads **maškad-ia**, for which I propose the rendering "my diseased joints." We have here one of the few instances of ideographic writing in our text.

[166] **iš-ḫu-ṭu** "to tear violently." Exactly what is meant by the phrase it is difficult to say. From the context, however, it is clear that the **mašmašu**-priest afforded no relief.

[167] **te-re-ti-ia**. The term **têrtu** is used in the omen texts to indicate the omens derived from the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 214, note. The reference here is to the attitude of the diviner, who instead of interpreting the omens set them aside.

[168] **ši-kin mur-ṣi-ia** "the state of my disease."

[169] **si-li-'-ti**, the same word which above (V R 47, obv. 55) is written **si-li-e-tum**.

[170] **id-din** "gave."

[171] **i-ru-ṣa**, from **râṣu** "help." Another instance of the verb is found in King, *Magic and Sorcery*, No. 53, 4, **ru-ṣa-nim** (imperat. plural).

[172] **i-ri-man-ni**.

[173] **ki-maḫ** (Text C), for which the Sippar fragment has **ki-ma-ḫu**, a method of writing that shows clearly the purely artificial character of the ideographic equivalent **KI.MAḪ** ("great place," *i.e.* gathering place for the dead), which is a mere play on the word. It is therefore to be removed from the list of "Sumerian" loan-words given by Leander (*Die Sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyrischen*, p. 12).

[174] **šu-ka-nu-u-a** "my resting place." Cf. German "*Grablegung*."

Though not yet dead, the lamentation[175] was over;
The people of my land had already said "alas"[176] over me.
My mocker[177] heard it and his face shone;
As the joyful tidings were announced to him, his liver[178] rejoiced,
Supposing that it was the day for my whole family,
When among the shades, their deity would be honored (?).[179]

[175] **bi-ki-ti** (variant **tum**), the official lament over the dead being meant.

[176] **ḫa-bil**, identical with חבל, which appears constantly in Palmyrene funeral inscriptions and is the equivalent of our "alas." See a note by the writer in the *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, xx. No. 1.

[177] **ḫa-du-u-a**, meaning the one who makes sport of him, *i.e.* his ill-wisher or rival.

[178] **ka-bit-ta-šu**, for which the Sippar fragment has apparently **ka-bit-ta-ša**.

[179] The last two lines are very obscure. While every word but the very last is perfectly clear, it is difficult to determine exactly what is intended. Zimmern in his first translation (*Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.* p. 387) rendered them as follows:

> Ich weiss (aber) eine Zeit, da meine Thränen zu Ende sind,
> Wo inmitten von Schutzgeistern ihre Gottheit geehrt ist.

He was inclined to see in these lines an allusion to a doctrine of salvation. In his second translation however (*Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 30), by reading the last word of the first of these two lines **kim-ti-ia** "my family" instead of **dim-ti-ia** "my tear," the meaning is considerably modified:

> Ich weiss (aber) eine Zeit für meine gesammte Familie.
> Wo inmitten der Manen ihre Göttlichkeit geehrt sein wird.

The reading **gi-mir kim-ti-ia** "my whole family" is decidedly preferable, and the translation proposed by the writer (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 128) is to be altered accordingly. The reference, however, is, as the writer indicated, to the premonition that the sufferer had of his approaching death, which he expresses in a forcible manner by intimating that he was already regarded as dead by his family and friends, and that his enemies had already manifested their pleasure on hearing the "joyful tidings." This thought, it would appear, is continued in these last two lines of the tablet. Instead of taking **idi** as the 1st person of the verb "I knew," it seems preferable to make the enemy the subject of the verb and to take **idi** (3d person) in the sense of "believing," "supposing," which it often has. The expression "day for my whole family," I take as a euphemistic phrase for the day of death, used in order to avoid an ill-omened utterance. Just as at the beginning of the second tablet (Text B, obv. 16) "day of God" is the sacred day, so here "the day

In this closing passage we may again observe how the conventional lamentation strain blends with the didactic character of the composition. From the description of his sufferings, Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, as in the opening passage of the second tablet, passes over to reflections upon his sad condition, though he does so here in the form of a dramatic summary of the despair into which he was thrown. The repetition of the vain appeal to the gods and to the various classes of priests[180] might still be regarded as an integral part of the lament, but the remaining six lines betray the didactic character of the composition, and are introduced to illustrate the king's despair, in order to prepare the hearer for the miraculous salvation through the grace of Bêl, which forms the main theme of the two remaining tablets of the composition. The allusion in the closing line to the doctrine of the deification of kings after death is significant. It suggests that the opposition of the writer, above referred to, was directed not so much against this doctrine as against its consequence, the awarding to royal authority of the rank of a god. He falls in line with sanctified tradition in

of my whole family" is a day of special significance for his family, a day occupied with sacred burial rites which would be an appropriate designation in a euphemistic spirit of the day of his death. There is at all events no reference whatsoever in this line to any hope of eternal salvation. In the following line I am inclined to see a reference again to the current doctrine of the deification of kings. The word used for spirits is **še-dè-e**, ordinarily the designation for a lower order of divine beings, and since there are traces of ancestor worship among the Babylonians as among all ancient nations, the **šêdê** may well have been extended, as Zimmern supposes, to designate the departed spirits in general, who if properly cared for were looked upon as protectors of the living, *i.e.* a species of protecting spirits. Among these protecting spirits, the king, in accordance with prevailing beliefs, was regarded as divine, *i.e.* as belonging to a higher order of beings known as **ilâni** "gods." The line is therefore practically synonymous with the preceding one, and, like that one, is to be taken as a euphemistically worded allusion to the expected death of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl. The last word of the line may be read either **i-rim** "merciful" or **i-ḳîr** from **aḳâru** "to be precious," "honored," and the like. If the interpretation here proposed is correct, the preference is to be given to the latter reading.

[180] Note that the classes here mentioned are the **bârû** "diviner," **âšipu** "exorciser," and, thirdly, **maš-maš-u**, whose functions appear to be identical with the **âšipu**.

admitting the kings to a special place after death, differentiating them from ordinary mortals, but at the same time, through the king's admission of his weakness and sinfulness, emphasizes the fact that rulers, like all other beings, must bow in subjection to the will and authority of the gods.

The second tablet thus ends in a dismal note of utter despair, and the opening line of the third tablet, preserved in the colophon to Text C and also in the commentary,[181] suggests that the thought of self-destruction had at least entered the mind of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl:

The weight of his hand[182] I was no longer able to endure.

With this line, however, we approach the close of the sufferer's lament, for the next line of this tablet, preserved in the commentary, introduces the name of the sufferer, and in the following line this sufferer is spoken of in the third person. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that after five or six lines, if not sooner, the third tablet changes into a narration of what happened to Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl. The first line of the third tablet sounds, indeed, like a portrayal of the depth of despair to which Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl had been brought. Like Job[183] he was weary of his life and longed for death, convinced that his tortures were beyond endurance. As already intimated, we are dependent for the third and fourth tablets upon the commentary, and since in all only thirty lines of these two tablets are preserved, or, according to our calculations, about one-eighth of their original extent, it is, naturally, impossible to expect them to yield more than a general outline of the further course of the composition. Not far from the beginning of the third tablet we find, as already intimated, the narrator stepping forward and indicating that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl was rescued from the jaws of death. Since only three lines in the commentary deal with the words of

[181] V R 47, rev. 4. Text B preserves the first two signs of this line, and the Sippar fragment also shows traces of two signs. See above, p. 144.

[182] **kab-ta-at ḳatâ-su** (variant **ḳat-su**). The hand of the oppressing demon is meant. The word **kabtu** is explained in the commentary as **dan-nu** "strong."

[183] Job 10 1.

the narrator, the interruption of his part could not have covered any considerable portion of the third tablet, perhaps twenty-five to thirty lines. The three lines, which are clearly not continuous, read as follows:

> Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl[184] dwelling in Nippur,
> He spake,[185] "How long yet,"[186] deeply sighing,
> The strong ruler,[187] decked with the turban.[188]

The description of the king's despair, appealing vainly to the priests and brought to the brink of the grave, as set forth in the fragment referred to above (note 164), would

[184] See above, p. 149. The name may be interpreted as "good is the shelter of Bêl." The word **utul**, construct form of **utlu**, is to be derived, like **utullu** "herd," from the stem **nâ'lu** "to lie down," and therefore means the place where one lies down, the spot where one seeks shelter. The reference may be to the temple of Bêl, which would be appropriately designated as a shelter. The meaning here proposed accords with the context in the other passages in which the term occurs (see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 158 a), and is rendered certain by such a passage as IV R 20, No. 1, 8, **ina ut-lu mu-ši ṭa-a-bu**, etc., "in a good night-shelter." Zimmern (*Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 30), while admitting that the sufferer who speaks in the second tablet is a king, does not appear to have recognized that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl is the name of this king. He makes Bêl the subject of the words "dwelling in Nippur," and takes the preceding words, apparently, as a description of the god. The passage above (pp. 149 ff.) discussed (V R 44, col. II, 17) seems to have been overlooked by Zimmern, who is thus led to the view that in the succeeding line of the commentary the god Bêl gives utterance to the lament, "How long yet." This is entirely out of the question, and both lines become perfectly clear if we take them, as here proposed, as part of the narrator's description of what Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl did.

[185] *I.e.* Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl.

[186] **a-ḫu-la-pi** (or, as we also find it written, **aḫulâpia**) is explained in the commentary as **a-di ma-ti** "how long yet." It is one of the technical terms for a lament with an appeal for relief, and is then further extended to designate the hoped-for conciliation with the angered deity. It sometimes has the force of "O that at last." See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 43 b and *Jastrow*, ii. p. 60, note 2, p. 67, note 12, p. 68, note 6. Though a compound adverb, it is used as a noun with pronominal suffixes attached, "my," "thy," or "his," **aḫulâpi** in the sense of my, thy, or his lament, and appeal for divine reconciliation.

[187] **id-lu dar-ru**, the latter somewhat unusual word being explained in the commentary (V R 47, rev. 7) by **dan-nu**, the common word for "strong."

[188] **a-ga-ău**; **agu** is the turban-shaped headgear of gods and kings, a symbol, therefore, of royalty, like the crown of later times.

appropriately follow. Be this as it may, the second of these lines, in which the technical term **ṣulâpi**, characteristic of the lament and appeal of a sufferer, is introduced, is clearly a reference to the king's outpouring of his woes, as set forth in the second tablet; and the use of this term is a valuable confirmation, though an indirect one, of the view here maintained, that our composition as a whole is based upon the lamentation songs, showing, as it does, that in the mind of the writer Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl's speech is placed in the category of the ordinary lamentation songs. The reference in the third line to the crowned ruler is an important confirmation of the view here maintained that the whole composition tells the story of a ruler, and that the various tablets of the series embody a continuous text. The failure hitherto to recognize this fact has prevented the correct interpretation of this text, which may properly be designated, both because of its intrinsic interest and of its striking resemblance to the story of Job, as one of the most important yet found among the remains of Babylonian literature.

With the following line of the commentary we are again introduced to Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl as the speaker, and since what follows is a hymn of rejoicing and of thanksgiving on the restoration of the royal sufferer to health, it is clear that the narrator, after mentioning the name of the ruler and setting forth his lament and appeal to the gods, more particularly to Bêl, must have indicated that the king's humiliation and earnest penitential spirit had moved the gods to show their power and mercy by saving him from the grave that seemed his inevitable doom. Corresponding to the description in the first and second tablets of how one organ after another had been destroyed by disease, he tells of his gradual restoration to his former health and strength. Bearing in mind again that in general the lines of the commentary are not continuous, and that we can only surmise how much is missing between the lines preserved, this description reads as follows: [189]

[189] Partially translated by Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 30. My German translation (*Jastrow*, ii. pp. 131 f.) was in press before Zimmern's brochure reached me.

My sins[190] he caused the wind to carry away,[191]
[Mine eyes which had been bolted he opened],[192]
Mine ears which had been closed and bolted as a deaf person's[193]
He took away their deafness,[194] he restored my hearing,
The net[195] (?) which had shut (me) in,[196] he released[197] from round about me,[198]
He healed, and my breast resounded like a flute,[199]
The fetters which enclosed[200] (me) like a lock he unlocked.

[190] **e-ga-ti-ia**, explained in the commentary as **ḫi-ṭa-a-ti**.

[191] See Zimmern's note *l.c.*

[192] This line may be added as the complement to the loss of eyesight described in the first tablet (V R 47, obv. 20, 21). See above, p. 157, note 69.

[193] Compare the corresponding line above, p. 157. **ḫa-šik-ku**, explained in the commentary as **suk-ku-ku**.

[194] **a-mir-ši-na**, explained in the commentary **a-mi-ra = zi-e uz-ni** "closing of the ear." See above, p. 166, note 114.

[195] The word at the beginning of the line is probably to be read **ur-u-di**, though other readings are possible. The context suggests that a net or trap of some kind is meant, and from the underlying stem **warâdu** "to go down," "pursue," "follow," such a meaning for **urudu** could be derived. My translation is offered merely as a suggestion.

[196] Read **in-ni-is-ru** IV, 1, from **esêru** "to inclose."

[197] **u-nap-pi-ḳu**. Compare the Talmudic use of פקק (Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, *s.v.*).

[198] **la-gab-biš**, adverb from **lagâbu**, explained in the commentary **ša a-mat pag-ri**, *i.e.* "with reference to the body." The verb **lagâbu** occurs in omen texts, *e.g. Cuneiform Texts*, XX, Pl. 9 (Sm. 418), 10, and Pl. 25, 13, and is explained as **paḫâru** "surround," and as a synonym of **lamû** "besiege," "surround." Cf. Boissier, *Note sur les textes divinatoires du British Museum*, pp. 9 f., who quotes our passage but misreads the word preceding **unappiḳu**. I have no hesitation in taking **lagabbiš** in the sense of "round about," and interpreting the note in the commentary as an indication that the term refers to the "surrounded" body, which by the grace of Bêl has now been freed from the net which had inclosed it.

[199] **ma-li-liš** explained in the commentary **ma-li-lu = im-bu-bu**, apparently the more common word for "flute," but also introduced here to avoid a misinterpretation of **maliliš** "like a flute," since the **malilu** is ordinarily the instrument of "lamentation," and not of rejoicing, as the context here requires. Cf., for example, Haupt, *Akkadisch-sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, No. 19, obv. 11, and see Jeremias, *Babyl.-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 44–45.

[200] Read **la-ga-a-a ša i-sir**, and correct Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 373 a, accordingly. The commentary explains **lagâ** as **ši-ik-tum**.

The one weakened by hunger[201] he made strong like a powerful, well-knitted sprout.[202]
He brought me food,[203] he provided drink.
The neck that had been bent downwards[204] and worn
He raised erect like a cedar,[205]
He made my form[206] like one perfect in strength.[207]
Like one rescued from an evil spirit,[208] my lips (?) cry out,[209]
He poured out their wealth,[210] he embellished their property.

[201] **un-ṣu**, explained by the more common word **bu-bu-tum**.

[202] **ki-ma pi-ir an-ni-ni rak-su**, the metaphor being that of a strongly rooted tree.

[203] **ip-te-en-ni**, explained by the more common word **ma-ka-lu-u** "food."

[204] **ir-na**, explained in the commentary as **šur-šu**, *i.e.* to the bottom. The commentary enters, as synonyms of **ir-na**, **e-re-e-na** and (the plural ?) **e-re-na-ti**, which apparently occurred in other copies of the text.

[205] **a-ma-liš**, the commentary adds **a-ma-lu** = (**giš**) **U.KU** = **ašuhu**, for which see Brünnow, Nos. 9492 and 9493, and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 83 b. Some lofty tree is meant.

[206] **u-ma-ši**, explained in the commentary as **KAK.MU**, which, as Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 93 b, suggests, is to be read **nabnîtia**, or perhaps **binûtia** (Brünnow, No. 5249) "my stature."

[207] **a-na ga-mir a-ba-ri**, to which the commentary adds **a-ba-ru** = **e-mu-ḳu** "power."

[208] **ki-ma na-kim-tum šu-ṣi-i**. In the commentary we read (**LÚ**) **šu-ṣu-u** = **ša Ištar ana išati tušêṣu**, *i.e.* "one whom Ishtar rescues through fire,"—the reference being to a purification rite by means of fire in order to drive out the evil demon. As an aid to the understanding of the comment we have an interesting passage (quoted by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 463 a), in an incantation ritual (IV R 28*, No. 3, obv. 11), where Ishtar is appealed to as follows:

li-še-ṣi nak-ma u na-kim-ti ša zu[mria]
"May the male and female demon be driven out of my body."

The passage shows that **nakimtu** is the female demon, and the juxtaposition with **nakmu** is paralleled by the frequent use of **lilû** and **lilîtu** in incantation texts. Cf. *Jastrow*, i. pp. 280, 308.

[209] The second half of the line, which reads **u-ṣap-pi-ra ṣu-ša-a-a**, is obscure. Instead of **ṣušâ** Delitzsch (*Assyr. Handw.* p. 572 a) proposed to read **ṣu-pur-a-a**, but although at first inclined to accept this, I think on further reflection that there is no satisfactory meaning to be obtained from such a phrase as "my nails are cut" (or "scratched"). My tentative suggestion "lips" is based upon the context and on a passage like IV R 16, No. 2, rev. 61 **šap-tan mu-uṣ-ṣap-ra-tum** "lips that cry out."

[210] **ma-na-aḫ-tum**, which the commentary through an interesting mis-

My knees that were caught like a mountain bird,[211]
My entire body[212] he restored;
He wiped out the anger,[213] he freed from his wrath (?),
The depressed form[214] he cheered up.

It may not be amiss to emphasize again the correspondence, extending to the use of the same terms, between this account of the restoration to health of the various parts of the body and the description in the first and second tablets of the sufferer's gradual loss of power. Corresponding to the loss of hearing (V R 47, obv. 22) his hearing is, in response to his appeal, restored to him. Through the anger of the god his body is bent like a poplar (obv. 50), and through divine grace he is made erect as a cedar. Unable to take nourishment and deprived even of the craving for food (Sippar-fragment, 33), when once the anger of the gods ceases, food and drink are given to him in plenty and his strength is restored. Apart from the proof thus furnished

understanding explains as **GIG**, the ideograph for **murṣu** "sickness," as in the second tablet (V R 47, obv. 41), but whereas this use of the word is in place in the latter passage, in the former it does not accord with the second half of the line, in which as a synonym **bušâ-šun** "their property" occurs, this being explained in the commentary as **ḳaḳḳadu** "capital." Now **manaḫtu** like **ḳaḳḳadu** is of frequent occurrence among the technical terms occurring in legal and business documents in the sense of "income," "revenue," and the like. This is the meaning that it has in our passage, and the use of the plural suffix in the case of both **manaḫtum** and **bušû** is an indication that Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl has at this juncture in his hymn of thanksgiving passed over into a general praise of Bêl's goodness to those who appeal to him.

[211] **bu-ṣi-iš** explained in the commentary **bu-ṣi** = **iṣ-ṣur ḫur-ri** "bird of the gorge."

[212] **šuk-lul-tum pag-[ri]**, explained as **la-a-nu** "form," "stature."

[213] **ma-am-me-e**, to which the commentary adds **ma-am-mu** = **šu-uḫ-tu**, which, according to Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 651 a, would appear to mean "anger." Zimmern, however (*l.c.*), renders "rust," and the complementary term **ru-šu-uš** "like burnished gold." The verb at the beginning of the line **ma-ša-šu** is explained as **ka-pa-ru**, which, considering the usage of the Hebrew כפף and the corresponding Arabic verb, accords better with "anger," "wrath," and the like. The commentary takes the word as an adverb explaining **ru-ši-iš** (or **šub-ši-iš**) by **LU**(or **DIB**).**BI**, perhaps = **ṣub-burušu** "his wrath (?)" (Brünnow, No. 10,696).

[214] **du-u-tum**, explained as **bu-un-na-nu-u** "form."

that the tablets of this series form a continuous text and that the speaker who gives thanks is the same as the one who poured forth his complaint, the correspondence throws an interesting light on the literary methods of the Babylonian scribes.

The following two lines of the commentary may represent the closing lines of the hymn of thanksgiving. The first of the two lines contains an allusion that is somewhat obscure; the correct translation of the second we owe to Zimmern. The lines read:

> To the shores of Nâru,[215] the place of the judgment of humanity,[216] they crossed over,[217]
> The forehead brand[218] was removed, the slave mark taken away.[219]

Nâru, the personification of the sacred river Euphrates, stands here, poetically, for the river itself. The commentary identifies "the shores of the divine stream" as **Ḫur-ša-an**, and Hommel[220] is no doubt right in recognizing in this word the name of some sacred spot, though his further speculations as to the locality of Ḫuršan await confirmation. Nippur being the home of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, we should expect the sacred seat of judgment to be not far from the famous city, and if it be recalled that the name of the chief temple of Bêl was **E-kur**, which signifies "mountain house," it is tempting to see some connection between **E-kur** and **Ḫuršân**, which also means "mountain." Was **Ḫuršân**, perhaps, the name of a sanctuary on the Euphrates near Nippur? Or does it possibly represent the phonetic form corresponding to

[215] Written with the sign for river preceded by the determinative for God. See *Jastrow*, i. pp. 164, 166, 300.

[216] **a-šar di-en nišê.**

[217] **ib-bir-ru**, which, despite the somewhat unusual form of writing, is to be derived from **ebêru** "cross over."

[218] **mut-tu-tu**, see below, note 223.

[219] **ab-bu-ut-tum**, explained in the commentary as **bi-ri-tu** "fetter." See below, note 224.

[220] *Grundriss d. Geogr. und Geschichte d. alten Orients*[2], p. 251, note 3. It is not certain whether in all of the passages adduced by him **ḫuršân** is to be taken as a proper name.

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E-kur[221]? If so, the line might merely be a poetic description of the sanctuary of Nippur. Leaving these speculations aside, the interesting line evidently refers to a religious rite symbolizing the triumphant justification of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, who is brought to a sacred spot where by a ceremony of some kind he is purified from the uncleanness which his disease and sin had brought upon him, and so restored to his former high rank.[222] Whether or not the second line immediately followed in the full text, the two lines belong together. It will be recalled that in the first tablet the royal sufferer says of himself:

From being a king I became a slave.

The sign used for slave is the ordinary one for **ardu**, and corresponding to this we encounter in the line under discussion two terms, **muttutu**[223] and **abbutum**[224], which are

[221] In the hymn to Bêlit, published by Scheil (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* x. p. 292, obv. 2),1– **ḫuršânu** appears to be used as a synonym of **E-kur**.

[222] See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, pp. 54–55, for illustrations from various sources of purification from sin through immersion or other ceremonies performed at a sacred stream.

[223] The most important passage for **muttutu** or **muttatu** is in one of the so-called "family laws," where as a punishment for the son who repudiates his mother, it is ordained **mu-ut-ta-as-su u-gal-la-bu** "they shall brand his forehead" (V R 25, rev. 31 c, d) and deprive him of citizenship and of his heritage. For this interpretation of the phrase see Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, p. 377, and Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, p. 176. The same phrase occurs in the Hammurabi Code, § 127, as the punishment meted out to the one who slanders a votary or a man's wife.

[224] **abbutum** occurs in the law regarding the repudiation of a father by his son, the punishment for which is **ab-bu-ut-tum i-ša-ak-kan-šu**, *i.e.* "an **abuttum** is placed upon him" (*l.c.* 27), and he is sold. In the Hammurabi Code, § 146, a mistress is accorded the right of **ab-bu-ut-tam i-ša-ak-ka-an-ši** "the putting of an **abuttu**" on a maid who, as the concubine of the husband, claims equal rights with her. Similarly, in §§ 226 and 227, the term is used to denote as here some symbol, stamping a man or a woman as a slave, and since in both these instances the verb **galâbu** "brand" is used (as with **muttatu**), it is clear that the word may also denote a brand of some kind, perhaps on the ear, to which a reference is found on a legal tablet (Strassmaier, *Inschriften des Cambysses*, No. 291), though it is also possible that in this passage a birthmark is intended. According to the commentary, to be sure, the word is a synonym of **birîtu** "fetter," but this appears to be a derived meaning, because "fetters" were also put on slaves. Its original force was, as it would

employed in legal tablets as well as in the code of Hammurabi as symbols of slavery, the former being the brand on the forehead, stamping one as a slave, and the latter a slave mark of some other kind. The line, therefore, indicates by the use of a striking metaphor the restoration of the king to his royal rank, and with this his sufferings and degradation come to an end. As with Job, everything — health, possessions, and position — is given back to him.

Whether these two lines still belong to the third tablet cannot, of course, be determined. They would form an appropriate close, and at all events the few following lines, preserved through the commentary, and furnishing, as it were, the moral of the narrative, may safely be reckoned as part of the fourth and concluding tablet.[225]

> He who sins[226] against E-sagila,[227] through me let him see.
> In the jaw of the lion[228] about to conquer me[229] Marduk
> placed a bit;[230]

seem, a "slave mark" in general, and the etymology suggested many years ago by Haupt, who connected it (*Sumerische Familiengesetze*, p. 35) with Hebrew עֲבֹדָה "service," so that it would be a derivative of the same stem as **abdu** "slave," may turn out to be correct, despite Zimmern's objections (*Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 59), which are indorsed by S. A. Smith (*Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Heft iii. p. 29). Because of this general sense the word came to be used, on the one hand, as a synonym of **muttatu**, which means specifically the "forehead-brand," and, on the other hand, as a "fetter." As a "fetter" it may have been applied also to the clay tablets or disks (of which there are a number in the Louvre and in the British Museum) containing the names of slaves, which must have been attached to the slave in some way, perhaps hung on the ear. It would be appropriate to speak of such attached pieces of clay as "fetters." See Johns, *l.c.* p. 176.

[225] Traces of three further lines are to be seen prior to these. In one the explanation **re-e-mu** "mercy" can be read; in another the words "gift (?) with . . . I came"; in a third "their street (?)".

[226] **e-gu-u**, explained as **ḫa-ṭu-u** "sin."

[227] Name of Marduk's chief sanctuary in Babylon.

[228] **gir-ra**, explained by the common compound ideograph **UR.MAḪ** "big dog" for lion.

[229] Read **âkil-ia**, literally "the one eating me." In the omen texts **akâlu** "consume," "finish," is frequently used as a synonym of **kašâdu** "conquer," as here. See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 254, note 8.

[230] **nap-sa-mu**, explained in the commentary as **ma-ak-ṣa-ru ša pî sisî** "restraining piece in the horse's mouth," *i.e.* a bit.

> Marduk seized the one ready to overwhelm me,[231] and completely encircled his bulwark.[232]

It is evident that in these lines the king is impressing upon mankind the moral of the thrilling experience through which he had passed, precisely as at the close of the main version of the Babylonian creation-story, — in reality a pæan in honor of Marduk, — the lesson of the tale of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat is unfolded ;[233] and it is a reasonable supposition that the narrator added for himself further lessons to be derived from the story, and that with such moral injunctions the fourth and last tablet ended. The reference to sinning is important as a proof that, despite Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl's assertion of his piety in the second tablet, he acknowledged in the course of the narrative that he had actually transgressed. Hence the value of the lesson drawn from his experience, that confession of wrong-doing must accompany the appeal for deliverance from suffering and misfortune. The lines reveal also, as pointed out at the beginning of this investigation, the adaptation of the story to later conditions, when all great deeds were ascribed to Marduk, as the head of the pantheon after the days of Hammurabi. Hence the mention of E-sagila, Marduk's temple in Babylon, which must be regarded as substituted by a later editor for E-kur, Bêl's temple at Nippur. The hand of this editor is likewise betrayed in the double mention of Marduk, who replaces En-lil, or Bêl. In the original form of the story we may be quite sure that Bêl was the deity invoked at the beginning and at the close of the composition, and that E-kur was named as the temple.

By means of suggestive metaphors the king impresses upon his subjects the power of the gods and their mercy. Though priests were of no avail and he seemed about to be swallowed

[231] **mu-kaš-ši-di-ia** from **kašâdu**. See note 229.

[232] **aṣ-ri aṣ-ṣuk-ka-su u-saḫ-ḫir** "with an inclosure he surrounded his bulwark." Parts of four additional lines are to be seen, but they are too fragmentary for consideration.

[233] Tablet vii. 125–142 (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 110–115).

up by death, Bêl, or in the later version Marduk, intervened. The enemy, the demon of disease, was already preparing to celebrate his triumph, when his bulwark was surrounded and he was forced to yield. Let all, therefore, draw the lesson, which we may assume was spun out by the king and the narrator to the close of the fourth tablet: When in despair, confess your sins, humble yourself before Bêl, and if you merit it as did Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, the pious king of Nippur, your appeal will be heard, your suit will be judged, and your ultimate justification proclaimed; suffering, misery, and distress will cease; health, strength, power, and position will be restored; and you will live to sing the praises of your saviour.

V

Before leaving the subject it may be proper to add some further remarks on the general character of the composition, which will lead us to the question as to the bearing that this interesting production may have on the Biblical story of Job. If our investigation of this composition has brought out the correct interpretation, namely, that it is an old story told for the purpose of discussing and illustrating current doctrines regarding the reason of suffering, the weakness of man, his proneness to sin, his dependence upon the gods, the necessity of humility in the presence of the higher powers, and the justification of supreme confidence in Bêl or Marduk, all of which themes, as we have seen, are touched upon in the course of the composition, it throws an important light not only upon the theology of the Babylonian priests, but upon the advanced literary methods employed by them. The very existence of such a text as ours points to a prolonged antecedent course of literary activity. We may safely assume that this text did not stand alone, but that it is a specimen of a distinct branch of literature, didactic in its purpose, which may not without reason be compared to the so-called "Wisdom Literature" of the ancient Hebrews, itself, likewise, essentially didactic.

The parallel presented to the Book of Job is in some

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respects striking. Apart from the similarity of the general theme and of the situation unfolded, attention deserves to be called to the similarity in the method employed in the two compositions. The Book of Job, like our Babylonian text, rests upon an older popular tale,[234] and it would be rash to assume that this older story of a pious man who lived in Uz and who, despite his piety, was sorely tried by some deity, is devoid of all historical foundation. Popular tales, unless they turn out to be pure nature myths, are not apt to be manufactured out of the whole cloth. The story is simple enough to rest on a basis of reality, though naturally, in the form in which it is now embodied in the philosophical poem of Job, it has undergone considerable modification from its original character in the process of adapting a non-hebraic folk-tale to a Jewish atmosphere. That the story is of foreign origin is so patent as to require no demonstration. The name Iyyôb has no Hebrew etymology, although the original name may have been modified to give it at least the semblance of a Hebrew noun formation. The home of Job is Uz, which leads us towards Edom, even though the precise locality cannot be determined. The names of his three friends are likewise foreign, and their homes lie outside of Hebrew territory, and although the three friends may not have had any place in the original folk-tale, the very fact that, when introduced by a Hebrew writer, foreign names and foreign homes were assigned to them, is a proof that the foreign origin of the tale was still present in the consciousness of the people. If, as seems probable, the story came to the Hebrews from the side of Edom, perhaps carried along by a wave of Hebraic migration that passed through Edom, the name of the deity in the Edomitic version was certainly not

[234] See for this older story of Job, as contrasted with the present Book of Job, the introductions in the commentaries of Budde, Duhm, etc., as well as the Introductions to the Old Testament by Driver (6th ed., p. 412), Cornill (p. 235), etc., and such works as Kautzsch, *Poetische Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 109 f., where, although Kautzsch does not accept the hypothesis of an older popular story of Job, he does not deny that the story existed in unwritten form.

Jahveh.[235] The introduction of this name into the prologue represents the natural modification of the foreign story, and so the introduction of the technical term for sacrifice עֹלָה (Job 1 15) may be ascribed to a natural and popular process of adapting the story to later Jewish surroundings, with a view to making Job a pious Jew, observing distinctly Jewish ordinances. The popular process of modification did not go much further than this, and as a consequence the Jewish veneer over the character of Job is so thin that it can be removed without much difficulty. The introduction of the three friends is, as I believe, the work of the author of the philosophical poem with a view to providing the necessary framework for the philosophical discussion of the problem of human suffering and of divine justice which constitute the main theme of the Book; and it is probably to this author likewise that we owe the introduction of the figure of Satan in the prologue, under the probable influence of religious ideas that came to the Jews from Persia. If the assembly of the gods sitting on a certain day, perhaps annually, in judgment is part of the original folk-tale, then instead of Satan there must have figured a member of some lower class of deities, such as were the demons and spirits of Babylonia, who acted as messengers to the gods. It will be seen, therefore, that in the modifications which the non-hebraic tale underwent we have to consider two factors, (1) the popular process of adapting the story, so far as seemed essential, to Jewish surroundings, (2) the further modifications introduced by the author of the philosophical poem in order to mold the story to his purposes and to remove traces

[235] In view of Montgomery's "Notes from the Samaritan," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxv. 1906, pp. 49 ff., and more particularly Schmidt's note, *ib.* p. 50, the form *Jahvah* might appear to have the preference over *Jahveh*, but against this Arnold's suggestive discussion (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxiv. pp. 154 f., 163–165) has clearly shown that, even if we spell the name with *a* in both syllables, the evidence from various sources is sufficient to prove that the *a* did not have a pure sound. The form *Jahveh* may therefore be retained with the understanding that even the *a* in the first syllable tended towards *ā* (like *a* in "fare"), though not to the same degree as the second *a*.

that no longer accorded with more advanced religious conditions.

That under these circumstances two stories though reverting to a common source should show as many points of divergence as points of agreement is not surprising. From the points of divergence, therefore, between the story of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl and the story of Job no valid argument can be drawn against the assumption of a common source for the two tales. On the other hand, to claim more than this would be to force the argument drawn from the points of resemblance beyond the bounds of a reasonable scientific method. If the story of a pious sufferer who does not lose his faith in the gods came to the Hebrews from the Edomites, there is no valid reason why the Edomites should not have received it from a region still farther to the east, and in receiving it have adapted the tale to their own surroundings.[236]

[236] It is rather curious that in an addition at the end of the Book of Job in the Greek version Job is a king, identical with Jobab ben Zeraḥ of Boṣra, the king of Edom mentioned in Genesis 36 33, 34. It may be, of course, that this notion is an invention of the Hellenistic period (see Dillmann's commentary, pp. 360 f., and Budde, p. xii), but on the other hand there may lurk behind it a faint recollection that the sufferer was of royal rank. If the name Iyyôb represents, as has been suggested, an adaptation of a foreign name to a Hebrew noun formation, the change from Jobab to Iyyôb would not be particularly violent, and, again, if the story of a suffering king came to the Edomites from Babylonia, they would naturally have transferred the tale to one of their own rulers. We have seen the peculiar position assigned to the king in Babylonian theology as standing nearer to the gods than ordinary mortals. Is there not some trace of the prevalence of this view among the Hebrews in the tradition which makes Koheleth a king, which connects the main figure in the Song of Songs with Solomon, as the type of the mighty and wise ruler in Jewish tradition, which makes the Psalms royal prayers ascribed to David as the type of the pious king (precisely as most of the hymns and prayers in Babylonian literature are put into the mouth of a king), and which ascribes the authorship of Proverbs to Solomon as the type of the wise king? Considerations of this nature suggest that the tradition which makes Job a king may represent a legacy of the past, or at all events a recrudescence of ancient notions associated with the position of the ruler. From this point of view the opposition toward kingship which crops out under the influence of the prophetical religious ideals, implied in the Pentateuch (*e.g.* Deut. 17 14-20) and more pronouncedly in the historical books (1 Sam. 8), becomes intelligible. It is because of the religious danger involved in the popular association of king-

Of more importance, however, than the possible indirect connection between the two stories (and more than an indirect connection is not claimed here) is the comparison that may be instituted between the literary methods employed in the two productions. In both a popular story, and essentially the same story, is used as the framework for a composition having a distinctly didactic purpose. The story of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl is told as an illustration of certain doctrines held by the author, which, through the medium of a royal sufferer, he wishes to impress upon those who read the story or to whom it was read in the temple as part of an atonement ritual. In the Book of Job the story of the pious sufferer is used as a *mashal*, a "parable" in the Midrashic sense, as an effective means of placing before us, in the form of an elaborate discussion between Job and his friends, the author's views of the ways of God and of the problem involved in the story. We are not concerned here with the solution, which is essentially pessimistic, though the attempt is made to tone down the pessimistic note by the addition of the speeches of Elihu with the introductory matter (chaps. 32–37) and the introduction of Jahveh himself (chaps. 38–41), — whether these additions were made by the author himself or by later editors to whom the philosophical discourses seemed unorthodox, — but with the treatment of the problem. In this respect there is a striking similarity between the two productions. Though the intellectual grasp as well as the literary process in Job is of an infinitely higher order than that exhibited in the Babylonian production, in both the main figure is represented as laying stress upon his piety, in both there is the suggestion of an

ship with divine prerogatives that the religious movement brought to a crisis by the prophets enters its vehement protest against according to any mortal a special position nearer than that of his fellow-men to the throne of the one and only King. It may perhaps not be amiss to add that the Greek translator of Job, who made the three friends of Job likewise "rulers," was influenced by the tradition embodied in the addition at the end of the translation. The visitors of a king might naturally be conceived as holding equal rank with him. In the apocryphal "Testament of Job" Job and his friends are likewise represented as kings.

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accusation against divine justice, in both the thought that God's ways are unfathomable is prominently brought out, and in both the necessity of man's humbling himself before the higher powers constitutes to all practical intent the last word. In view of all this, and of the profound influence exerted over the Hebrews by Babylonian culture and literature, traces of which are to be discerned in so many pages of the Old Testament, it is difficult to resist the impression that a product such as we have been investigating may have suggested to the Hebrew philosopher to take up the old story of the pious sufferer, as it had developed among the Hebrews in post-exilic days, and to furnish, in contrast to the Babylonian treatment, a Jewish discussion of the eternal problem of human suffering — precisely as in the creation and deluge myths we have the Jewish treatment of themes the material for which was furnished by Babylonian traditions. Further than the assumption of a suggestion emanating from the Babylonian composition, directly or indirectly, we are not justified in going, chiefly because the age to which Job belongs is too far removed from the atmosphere in which the Babylonian composition was produced to permit of any direct borrowing on the part of the Hebrew writer. Literary influences, however, may be potent without necessarily pointing to direct borrowing, and this observation holds good in general for the relationship between Hebrew and Babylonian literature. The Psalms betray the literary influence of Babylonian hymns and lamentations without showing any traces of direct borrowing.[237] The Book of Lamentations, consisting of laments and appeals on the occasion of national misfortune, is the adaptation of the Babylonian lamentation songs to Jewish surroundings, and similarly the laments in the Book of Job are based, as are the laments of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, upon the existence of these same Babylonian lamentations. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to allow a boundless scope to accident in creating the resemblances in both story and treatment between the Babylonian and Hebrew productions, the hypothesis of lit-

[237] See *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 133–137.

erary influence, reënforced by the possession in common of an indefinite amount of folk-lore, legendary lore, and ancient traditions, suggests itself as a satisfactory solution of the problem involved in a comparison of the story of Ṭâbi-utul-Bêl, and the treatment of the theme of human suffering there found, with the strikingly parallel story of Job.

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PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1905

THE forty-first meeting of the Society was held in Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on Wednesday and Thursday, December 27 and 28, 1905. The first session began at 2.15 P.M. President Harper being unable to be present on account of illness, the Vice-President, Professor Haupt, presided. The Treasurer presented his report, and the Recording Secretary his financial statement. These reports were referred to Messrs. Peters and Gottheil as an Auditing Committee, who subsequently reported the accounts correct and the vouchers satisfactory. Professor Ropes reported for the Publishing Committee. The Recording Secretary read his annual report. The Chair appointed Messrs. Ward, Schmidt, and Jastrow a Committee to nominate officers.

At 2.35 Professor Haupt gave the address of the Vice-President. Subject: "Purim."

From 3.10 to 5.30 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Gottheil: "The Method used by the Samaritans in Dating their Manuscripts." By Professor Prince: "Note on the Meaning of Akkad." By Professor Jastrow: "A Babylonian Job." By Professor Schmidt: "The Ruins in Wâdy Sûweil." By Professor Peritz: "The So-called Marriage Experience of Hosea." By Professor Bewer: "The Story of Hosea's Marriage." Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Wednesday Evening, December 27. — Met at 8.10. Professor Wright read on "Hezekiah's Engineering Skill."

The Council reported the election of Prof. James H. Ropes as Corresponding Secretary, and of Prof. William R. Arnold and Rev. William H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting will be held in Columbia University, December 27 and 28, 1906, Professors Prince, Jackson, and Gottheil being the Committee of Arrangements. They nominated for membership in the Society the following persons, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, B.D., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
Benj. Willard Robinson, Ph.D., Union Theol. Seminary, N.Y. City.
Wm. M. Crane, B.D., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
Mrs. Ghosn-el-Howie, Schweir, Beyrout, Syria.
Shirley Jackson Case, B.D., Yale Theol. Seminary, New Haven, Ct.
Nicholas A. Koenig, M.A., N.Y. City.
Prof. Eugene W. Lyman, Bangor Theol. Seminary, Bangor, Me.
Robert Lau, Ph.D., N.Y. City.
Miss Myra Freidenrich, N.Y. City.

From 8.30 to 10 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Torrey: "The West-Syrian Origin of the Lewis Gospels." By Rev. J. R. Thurston: "The Secondary Miracles and Some Inferences." By Professor Lyon: "Moses and Hammurabi." By Prof. H. P. Smith: "Exodus 4 24-26."

Adjourned to Thursday morning.

Thursday, December 28. — Met at 9.45. Professor Paton read on "The Meaning of the Expression, Between the Two Walls." Professor Porter read on Mark 9 35 10 31, 43, 44 and related passages. Dr. Ward, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. Paul Haupt,	*President.*
Prof. James H. Ropes,	*Vice-President.*
Rev. William H. Cobb,	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince,	*Treasurer.*
Dr. William Hayes Ward,	*Additional Members of the Council.*
Dr. John P. Peters,	
Prof. F. C. Porter.	

To represent the Society on the Board of Manag[illegible] of the School at Jerusalem: Dr. Peters, Professor Lyon, Prof. H. P. Smith.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Columbia University and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for the meeting. On recommendation of the Council, it was voted that Professor Gottheil, Dr. Ward, Dr. Peters, Professor Jastrow, and Professor Torrey be a Committee to prepare and send to Professor Nöldeke a congratulatory address in celebration of his seventieth birthday.

It was voted that a message expressing the sympathy of the Society be sent by the Corresponding Secretary to President Harper in view of his continued illness.

Professor Ropes was called to the Chair, and presided for the rest of the session.

Professor Haupt gave an abstract of his paper on אחר, and read "Critical Notes on the Book of Esther." This paper was very fully discussed. Dr. Ward read on a phrase from Milton's *Lycidas*, "that two-handed engine at the door." Dr. Cobb read on "The Fifty-eighth Chapter of Isaiah." Dr. Montgomery read "Some Notes from the Samaritan."

The rough minutes were read. Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,
Recording Secretary.

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REPORT

OF

FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

1905.		
Jan. 5,	Balance, last Report	$17 83
Mar. 1,	B. W. Robinson, for offprints	37 50
Dec. 26,	Postage returned	2 00
	Sales of Journal	261 25
		$318 58

Expenditures

1904.		
Dec. 13,	Berwick & Smith, in part, for press-work	$36 74
1905		
Jan. 5,	Berwick & Smith, in full, for press-work	50 00
Jan. 10,	Blank ledger	65
Mar. 3,	Thomas Todd, printing programs	4 50
July 25,	Distributing Journal, vol. 24, part 1	12 00
July 28,	Insurance on stock in Boston	30 60
Aug. 18,	Berwick & Smith, press-work on vol. 24, part 1	61 99
Nov. 8,	Carter, Rice & Co., pamphlet envelopes	2 00
Dec. 6,	Corresponding Secretary, circulars	3 75
" "	" " postage and stationery	12 05
Dec. 26,	Recording Secretary, postage and expressage	5 86
	Balance in Bank of the Republic, Boston	98 44
		$318 58

Audited, Dec. 27, 1905, and found correct and accompanied by the proper vouchers.

J. P. PETERS,
R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December 27, 1904, to December 27, 1905

Receipts

Balance in hand Dec. 27, 1904	$13.39
Income:	
Initiation fees	55 00
Annual dues	549 30
	$617 69

Disbursements

Expenses of Recording Secretary	$16 50
Expenses of Prof. L. B. Paton	10 30
Columbia University: janitor and lantern	1 75
Miss Buckingham: proof reading	36 00
Exchange	1 50
J. S. Cushing & Co. for Journal XXIV. 1	253 00
Cash on hand	298 64
	$617 69

Respectfully submitted Dec. 27, 1905.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1905.

JOHN P. PETERS,
RICHARD GOTTHEIL, } *Auditors.*

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Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
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Prof. Eberhard Schrader, D.D., Berlin.
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(341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N.J.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., Andover, Mass.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
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(225) '91 Rev. Erastus Blakeslee, 250 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Nov. 10, 1906. Members are requested to notify the Secretary of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(302) '96 Prof. C. W. E. Body, D.D., 9 Chelsea Square, N.Y. City.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., Providence, R.I.
(130) '84 Prof. C. F. Bradley, D.D., Boston, Mass.
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

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for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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